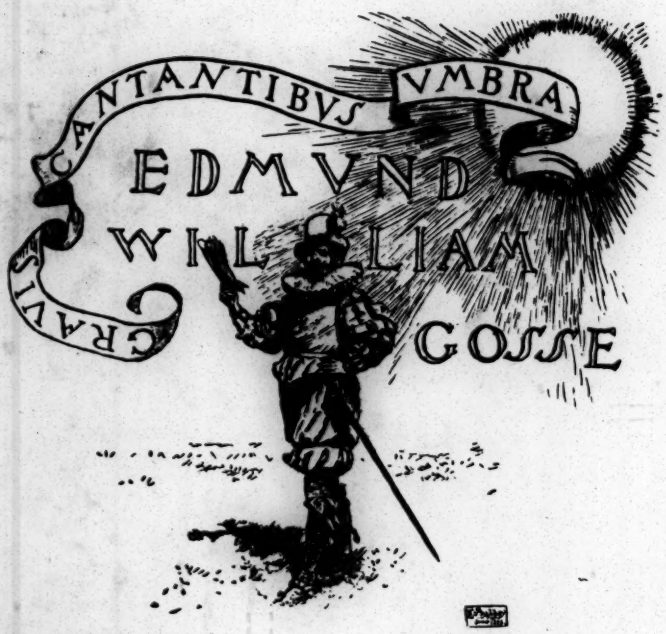
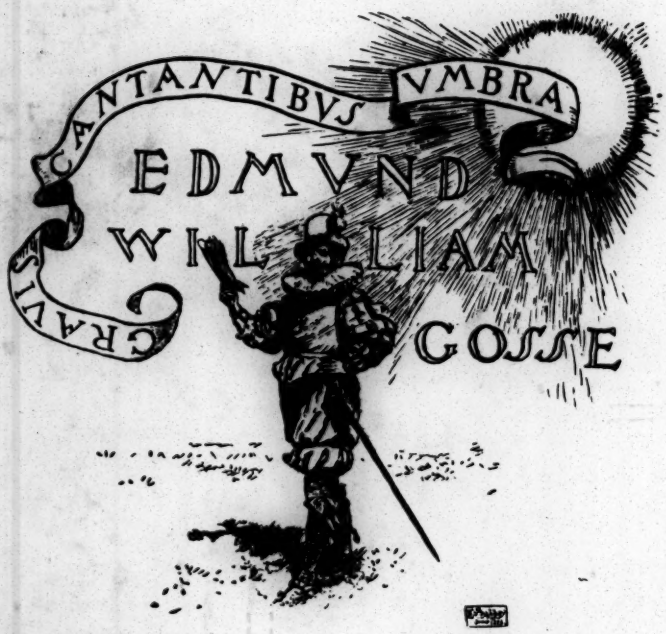

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THE *FRENCH* PREFACE.

EVery one has a different taſt as well in reading as in other things; ſome read for Inſtruction, others onely to divert themſelves, and each have their Reaſons for what they doe. This however we may truly affirm, that Hiſtory alone is able to ſatisfie both, ſince in that onely Pleaſure is ſo naturally joined to Inſtruction.

Treatiſes of Philoſophy and other Sciences contain onely Precepts and Axiomes without delight. On the other ſide, the Poets have onely Pleaſure that is natural to them, for what moral notions we find in them they are not properly theirs, but are borrowed

from Philoſophy. The like may be ſaid of Romances, and even of thoſe Hiſtorical Novels which of late are ſo much in vogue for the Purity of their ſtyle and the Delicacy of thoughts; and though ſome of them have juſtly deſerved approbation, yet it is plain, they were not made for Inſtruction, ſince they throw us into the ſame confuſion and perplexity of the firſt *Greek* Hiſtorians, where Truth and Fables are ſo mixed and entangled, that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them.

It is true indeed, that in this kind of writing there is an opportunity of employing all the Ornaments of Eloquence; but it is certain too, that Hiſtory has her natural graces which ſhe takes from Truth it ſelf: ſhe may beſides borrow Beauty of Art; nor is it improper ſometimes for her to adorn her ſelf, eſpecially when fiction pretends to outſhine her in charms.

In Hiſtory we find a thouſand pleaſant paſſages where Truth is capable of all kind of embelliſhments, and yet keep its character; but more particularly

larly when the ſubject is limited. This is *Saluſt*'s manner, who has by it made himſelf inimitable. The beſt *Greek* Hiſtorians gave him that Example, which *Appian* alſo has followed; and it is from this laſt Authour that this deſign of an Eſſay of the *Roman* Hiſtory is taken, which contains the Story of the two *Triumvirates.*

Without doubt theſe great Men conſidered, that the deſign of a General Hiſtory was a thing of too great an extent to leave any clear or diſtinct *Idea's* of the ſubject of them: for if the ſenſe of the Authour is not confuſed, yet the mind and attention of the Reader is often tired and confounded by the multitude of different actions and the long ſucceſſion of years. There is an abſolute neceſſity of retrenching all the ornamental parts of it, ſhunning particularities and omitting ſeveral circumſtances which are indeed the pleaſanteſt part of it, and very often are the cauſes and very hinges of the greateſt turns in a Hiſtory. In ſhort, It is for this kind of writing that the ſevere Laws of the hiſtorical ſtyle are made.

Theſe conſtraints are not found in particular relations; there one may ſtudy ornament, relate converſations, give an account of letters, draw the characters of the moſt remarkable perſonages, and even deſcend into the particularities of their private lives, and exalt or humble the ſtyle as the ſubject requires. To theſe other Reaſons may be added, but we find that in all excellent writings Men of underſtanding conſult onely their own fancy, and when the manner pleaſes, none much cares whether it be that of *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* or *Saluſt*.

However, notwithſtanding all this liberty, we have yet endeavoured to make uſe of no ornamental flouriſhes, but what the very ſubject it ſelf affords; and for this reaſon Deſcriptions of Provinces and Cities are avoided, and many Speeches are ſhortned: very often inſtead of inſtructing they are tedious, and ſerve rather to ſhew the eloquence of the Authour, than explain the matter they treat of. The ſubject of this enſuing Diſcourſe every where gives opportunities of making remarks. But

this

this in a great meaſure is the Reader's privilege, which he is unjuſtly deprived of by the Authour's own reflexions. If here there be any by chance, they are onely in ſuch places where they are neceſſary to enlighten the Story, and oppoſe ſome errour of Antiquity.

Perhaps it may be objected, that the Portraictures and Deſcriptions of Perſons are ſuperfluous and not to the purpoſe; but though the example of ſeveral the beſt Writers of that time ſhould not juſtifie it, yet certainly that of *Saluſt* would authorize it; he who deſcribed perſons that were living in his time, and which every body ſhould know. In theſe draughts we have endeavoured not to flatter; and if we have not with ſome Authours as well ancient as modern agreed in the Praiſes they have given *Brutus* and *Cato*, it is becauſe they propoſed to themſelves a ſtrange *Idea* of Vertue, which ſince is much amended by the Principles of Chriſtianity: and it may be we have been too ſevere upon the Fact of *Brutus* againſt *Cæſar*; but if this be an offence againſt the Rules of Hiſtory,

it is none againſt the Laws of Honour and Religion.

That which is added concerning the Dignities and the Offices of old *Rome* is not performed with very great exactneſs, nor is it here pretended to, but onely what is neceſſary to avoid being obſcure: and for this reaſon have we been obliged to end this Diſcourſe with ſome remarks upon the proper Names of the *Romans*, and thoſe of their Families; in like manner have we done with the *Roman* Monies and their manner of making War.

There were three kinds of Families in *Rome.* The *Patricians*, who were deſcended from thoſe of whom *Romulus* and the Kings who ſucceeded him compoſed the *Senate*; they called them *Patres*, Fathers, from whence came the word *Patricii.* Such were the *Julii*, the *Clodii*, the *Valerii*, *Cornelii*, the *Junii* and *Fabii*, and divers others. The ſecond order was that of the *Knights*, who compoſed the body of the *Roman* Cavalry. The third was that of the *People*; but here we muſt underſtand that

that by the word *People* is not understood the *Rabble* or *Mobile*, but onely those civil substantial *Citizens* that had some estate and a right of Voting in the election of Magistrates.

The *Patrician* Families were Noble by their original alone. Those of the two other orders became so too when after several long Contests, Divisions and Seditions, the *People* obtained to have their share in Honours and Offices; then many of the gentilest Persons among the *People* raised their Families by their merit and gallant actions. Such were the *Livii*, of which was *Livia* Wife of *Augustus*, the popular *Clodii* different from the former, the *Decii*, *Drusi*, and in the later days of the *Republick* the *Portian* Family, of which were the two *Cato's*; the *Tullian*, of which was *Cicero*; the *Pompeii*, and many others.

As to the Names of the *Romans* (at least those of Quality) they usually had three; as *Caius Julius Cæsar*, *Marcus Junius Brutus*, almost as we have in *France*. The difference was that the

Proper or Christian Name which we receive in Baptism was given them from the time or order of their birth; as for example, they called him *Lucius* that was born at break of day, *à luce*; him that was born at the declining of the day *Caius*, *à die cadente*; or *Gaius*, *à gaudio*, from the Joy of his Parents at his birth; *Marcus*, from the month of *March*, *&c.* So likewise from the order of their being born; as *Quintus*, the Fifth; *Sextus*, the Sixth; *Decimus*, the Tenth; and so of others. The second name was that of the Family; as *Julius*, *Clodius*, *Portius*, *Tullius*, *&c.* The third was derived from some Imperfection; as *Scævola*, Left-handed; *Strabo*, Purblind; or from some Vertue, as *Pius*, Holy; *Stipio*, the Staff, because he led and bore his Father when he walked; or else from some advantage and perfection of body; as *Celer*, the Swift; *Pulcher*, the Handsome; and from these Instances we may easily find out the reason of the rest.

As to what concerns the Money and Manner of counting among the *Romans*, we have consulted *Budæus* and *Vigenere* who

who are the moſt exact *French* Authours that have handled this Subject; but as *Budeus* is the older, and the difference between his calculation and that of this preſent age is conſiderable, we have rather followed *Vigenere*, whoſe computations agree more with the modern accompts. The Coins of the ancient *Romans* were the *As* of Copper, and that of Silver called *Libella*, the *Seſterce*, or *Nummus*, the *Denarius* and the *Drachma*. The *As* which is generally wrong taken for a *Sol* or Penny, according to *Vigenere*, was worth ſix *Deniers* of *France*, and the *Libella* as much. The *Seſterce*, or *Nummus*, which is alſo improperly tranſlated *a Crown*, was equivalent to two *As* and a half, which is fifteen *Deniers* of *France*; and four *Seſterces* being ten *As* or five *Soulz*, was the value of the *Roman Denarius*, and the *Drachma* was the ſame.

They uſually reckoned either by *Seſterces* or by Talents; the Talent was not the name of a Coin, but of a certain Sum, *Budée* and *Vigenere* both eſteem a Talent at ſix hundred Crowns; but as *Vigenere* well obſerves, the Crown

in

in *Budæus* his time was worth but thirty five *Sols*; at this rate the Talent will amount but to a thousand and fifty *Livres*; and the most part of the modern Authours have stated the Talent at a thousand eight hundred *Livres*: but *Vigenere* in his remarks upon *Livy* has not followed this text; but tells you that the Crown he means is fifty *Sols*; so that at this estimation the Talent amounts to a thousand five hundred *Livres* of our Money: this is easie enough, but the reducing the computation of *Sesterces* is much more difficult. There was *Sestercius* of the masculine gender and *Sestercium* in the neuter; the difference between them was considerable: our two Authours explain them by greater and less *Sesterces*. The *Sestercius*, or lesser, is before-mentioned and valued at fifteen *Deniers French*; but the *Sestercium*, or greater, was as much as a thousand small ones, and makes sixty two *Livres*, ten *Sols*; and in this manner of reckoning they had three ways, which must be explained from the *Latine* words, *decem Sestercii*, or ten little *Sesterces*, made twelve *Sols* and a half,

and

and the reſt in proportion; and this is the firſt way of counting. *Decem Seſtertia*, or ten great *Seſterces*, was ſix hundred twenty five *Livres*; and this was the ſecond way: But *Decies Seſterciûm* was an abbreviated way of multiplying either in ſpeaking or writing, which the two forenamed Writers call ten-fold *Seſterces*, which is ten times a hundred; that is to ſay, a hundred great *Seſterces* which makes ſixty two thouſand five hundred *Livres tournois*. After this manner all the Sums were multiplied *vicies*, twenty times; *tricies*, thirty times, *&c.* to *centies*, a hundred times, and *millies*, a thouſand times; and ſo on, ſtill augmenting. Thoſe that have any knowledge of the *Latine* know that here in this place *Seſterciûm* is put for *Seſterciorum*, the genitive plural; and in writing the Abbreviation of it is by this mark *decies H S.*

There now remains ſomething to be ſaid of the *Romans* way of Fighting and Marſhalling their Armies. It is very difficult to know this from *Livy*, who was no Souldier himſelf; all that he tells

tells us is, that they left the *Macedonian* way, which was to draw all their Foot into one Battalion, which the *Greeks* called *Phalanx*, which was a Figure very inconvenient any where unleſs upon a large Plain. The *Romans* therefore, to avoid this inconvenience, as that Hiſtorian ſays, drew their Troops into *Manipuli*, *Pelottons*, or ſmall bodies: but the Deſcription he gives of it being very confuſed, we muſt ſeek for a clearer from other Authours. Their Infantry they diſtinguiſhed into heavy and light armed; the former of theſe too had ſome difference according to their Wealth and Dignity, as it was regulated by *Servius Tullus* the ſixth King of *Rome*; the richeſt of them, had their Helmet, their *Cuiraſs*, or Armour, for Back and Breaſt, their Buſkins or Greaves and Buckler of Copper or Braſs: And for offenſive Arms, the Pike and Sword. Thoſe of a meaner degree had the ſame Arms, except the *Cuiraſs*, but their Shield was made of Leather large enough to cover almoſt their whole body. Thoſe of the third order had no Buskins or Greaves, and theſe were their heavy armed Foot. In

the

the later times they had beſides Javelins or Darts five foot long with three ſquare heads, which they called *Pila*, and theſe they threw at their firſt approaches. The light armed Foot wore no defenſive Armour; and had onely Slings or Bows, with a Dagger by their ſides. Of the former Infantry they formed bodies called Legions, conſiſting of four, five or ſix thouſand men, (for the number ſometime altered) and three or four hundred Horſe. Theſe Legions were divided into Centuries, *Manipuli* and Cohorts, as *Gellius* relates, who wrote in the time of the Emperours: the Legion, ſays he, conſiſts of ſixty Centuries, thirty *Manipuli*, and fifteen Cohorts, by which we may know, that when he wrote, the Legion was ſix thouſand men. And this may be eaſily known too by *Cæſar*'s counting *Pompey*'s Cohorts at the Battel of *Pharſalia*. The Officer or Colonel who commanded the Legion was called *Legatus*, and he had under him Tribunes who commanded Cohorts, and Centurions, Centuries. As to their order of Battel, *Cæſar* drew his men up always in two or three Lines, *duplici*

aut

aut triplici acie, even when he ſpeaks of ſingle Legions, which we cannot conceive without imagining they made two or three diſtinct bodies of one Legion, as now we form one Regiment into ſeveral Battalions. 'Tis true indeed ſome Writers explain this after another manner; but without diſputing their opinion, we will follow this method as the moſt probable, and having moſt reſemblance to the modern Diſcipline. The *Romans* therefore formed their firſt Battalions of their youngeſt raw Souldiers, which they called *Bo-Haſtati*; the ſecond were thoſe who had ſerved ſome years, and were named *Principes*: the old Souldiers were in the rere, and there was the Poſt of the *Eagles*, which were the Enſigns Colonel and the other Enſigns of the Legions. Theſe old Souldiers, called *Triarii*, waited the Succeſs of the firſt Battalions, with one Knee upon the ground, and leaning upon their Bucklers: and ſtill as the firſt bodies were broke or gave way, they retired into the intervals in the rere; and then the third line roſe up, and cloſing the ranks, the Battalions left no interval at all,

but

but marched up to the Enemies, and charged in one continued front. In all theſe occaſions the Horſe always acted ſeparate detaches from the Legions, and with the light-armed Foot was poſted on the Wings, or right and leſt of the Army; they were armed almoſt like the legionary Foot, onely their Javelins were longer, and their Shields were lighter.

This is what hath been thought fit to be explained, but here the Reader is deſired to be ſo charitable as not to think it done to make any vain ſhew of reading or learning, for every one knows theſe things are but trifles, and very common amongſt the learned: what is done here is onely for the information of thoſe whoſe buſineſs and emploiments will not permit them to make enquiry themſelves among Books of this nature.

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THE

THE HISTORY Of the first TRIUMVIRATE.

Volume I.

CHAP. I.

The estate of the Roman *Commonwealth after* Catiline's *Conspiracy.*

NEVER was the City of *Rome* in such danger since its being sack'd and burnt by the *Gauls*, as it appeared to be in the Conspiracy of *Catiline*. It is impossible, in the account *Sallust* gives of it, without horrour to

reade of the Rage, the Madneſs, the Debauchery and Ambition of that Man, and yet at the ſame time his Addreſs in managing a deſign that was to carry fire and ſword ev'n into the very Bowels of his Countrey. But the wiſedom and vigilancy of *Cicero* hindred its taking effect, and *Catiline* was ſlain at the Head of thoſe Troops he was leading againſt the City: But neither this man's defeat or death was ſufficient to ſettle ſo firm a peace in that City, but that ſtill ſhe lay expoſed to the enterpriſes which ſome more Ambitious Senatours than the reſt were always forming againſt her Liberty. Nor could their Inclinations of that kind meet any where with greater temptation, ſince the Conqueſt of that onely City muſt carry with it the greateſt part of the Univerſe: In ſhort, after the War of the Confederates, in which all the Armies of *Italy*, jealous of the power and greatneſs of *Rome*, had been in a great many Battels defeated, that part of the World, came to an abſolute ſubmiſſion: Half of *Gaul*, and all *Spain* received quietly the Pretors which were ſent to govern them; the Coaſt of *Africk* as far as *Ægypt*, became ſubject to the *Romans*; and *Ægypt* her ſelf preſerved its Monarchy onely by the profeſſion which her Kings made to reſpect in all matters the Authority of the Senate. *Syria* was reduced to a Province, and governed by *Roman* Officers,

cers, and after the defeat and death of *Mithridates*, all the Princes of the leſſer *Aſia* became Tributaries, and thought themſelves very happy to be ſupported by the credit of ſome of the Senatours. *Greece*, though it retained ſome appearance of liberty became yet more reduced, for beſides the rights of Conqueſt, ſhe found her ſelf under the obligations of Acknowledgment and Allegiance: In ſhort, all that Coaſt, which ſtretches it ſelf along the Adriatick Gulph up a good way into *Germany*, was filled with thoſe powerfull Armies that made head againſt the Barbarians. And the defeat of the *Corſaires* which *Pompey* had driven into the Mountains of *Cilicia* eſtabliſhed the *Roman* Empire over all the Mediterranean Sea: Theſe Conqueſts had brought into *Rome* daintineſs and plenty, and all curious Arts ſoon followed; Learning became an ordinary Accompliſhment even amongſt men of the higheſt Quality. And almoſt all the Wits of that time were poliſhed and pure, inſomuch that that City never afforded ſo great men for War, Eloquence, Law, Poetry, and all other fine knowledge as at this time; ſo that it was the more unlikely that Ambition ſhould not find an opportunity to mingle her ſelf among ſo many extraordinary Qualities. Thoſe men who upon quitting the Charges they had exerciſed in *Rome*, went to receive thoſe Honours in

the Provinces which uſed onely to be allowed to Sovereigns that commanded great Armies, and diſpoſed of Kingdoms, found it very hard upon their return home to reduce themſelves to the level of a private life, and forget the ſweetneſs of Command and Power. Envy, as dangerous as it is common to all Republicks, ever took care to make way for it ſelf upon theſe occaſions, and trouble the Quiet even of thoſe who thought of nothing but peaceably enjoying the Honours they had gotten: It appeared for the moſt part amongſt thoſe who had leſs Deſert, leſs Fortune, but more Ambition than the others; and their pretence was always the publick Good, when they had often no other end than the deſtruction of every thing that hindered their own elevation. A noble Reputation, great Riches, and acquired Honours paſſed always amongſt them for Qualities dangerous to the Commonwealth: And theſe Perſecutions may have contributed as much to kindling the fire of Civil Wars, as that Ambition which * *Ceſar*, and *Pompey* himſelf have been ſo much reproached withall, who never could have put themſelves at the head of their different Parties, but that they had really and indeed more merit than the reſt. They were both of goodly Perſonage, Valiant, and equally deſirous of Glory. *Ceſar* had the advantage of *Pompey* in Birth, being of the moſt Illuſtri-

* Caius Julius Cæſar, Æneus Pompeius Magnus, *the ſecond Name was that of their Families.*

Illuſtrious Family in *Rome*; he diſputed already the prize of Eloquence with the moſt famous Oratours, and there was nothing that appeared impoſſible for his great Genius to undertake. *Pompey* had great Riches, the favour of the Senate, and an eſtabliſhed Reputation: He had been a General, as ſoon as he was a Souldier, and although he had never obey'd, was not to ſeek in the Art of giving Command; he had won Battels, and deſerved the Honour of Triumph at an Age when others onely begin to make themſelves taken notice of. It is impoſſible to tell exactly which of the two had the moſt repugnancy to Obey, *Caſar* would have no Superiour, and *Pompey* could not bear an Equal. The latter ſupported himſelf upon his extraordinary good Fortune, the other by his very great Merit. In ſhort, they were both Brave, Generous and Magnificent. But the luſtre of thoſe many Triumphs which *Pompey* had obtained, was no inconſiderable addition to his other great Qualities, ſo that he paſſed without contradiction at that time for the firſt man in *Rome*. *Craſſus* onely found himſelf in a condition to diſpute it with him as well by the Nobility and the deſert of his Anceſtours, as by his great eſtate, which accumulated to him the ſirname of Rich. Of which ſome Judgment may be given from what he himſelf once ſaid, that he ought not to be eſteem-

ed a wealthy man, who could not entertain an Army out of his own Revenue. Nevertheless, his own Estate amounted not to above * six thousand Talents, but that brought him in a very considerable profit by the means of his Slaves, which some Authours say amounted in number to 40000. He had besides all this a great deal of Wit, and was very Eloquent: His good humour and Complaisance were perhaps the effect of his Policy. For when that *Pompey*, puff'd up by his Victories, fancied that it was necessary to his Grandeur to take upon him a haughty behaviour, and to communicate himself to very few; *Crassus* on the contrary was familiar with all the world, and employed his Reputation and his Eloquence at the Bar in the behalf of all such as would apply themselves to him: From whence arose that * judicious and excellent Observation, That by the lustre of his Actions, *Pompey*, when he was absent, had the advantage of *Crassus*; but so soon as he returned to *Rome*, he lost it again by his manners. Nor was it onely Emulation which caused so great a misunderstanding between them. *Crassus* had other reasons to complain of *Pompey* in relation to the affair of *Spartacus*. This *Spartacus* was a Gladiatour or Fencer that had appeared against the *Romans* at the head of forty thousand of his Companions, and had beaten three of their Armies. At last

* 1500000 Crowns.

* Plutarch.

Crassus

Craſſus had the advantage to rout him with a great deal of hazard. *Spartacus* was killed in the fight, and ſix thouſand Gladiatours eſcaping from the Battel fell into the hands of *Pompey*, as he was returning with his Army out of *Spain*; who ſlew them all, and then ſent word to the Senate, that he had cut up the very roots of that War. This hinder'd *Craſſus* from Triumphing, and forced him to ſit down contented with the honours of the *Ovation*, much inferiour to thoſe of the Triumph: This Injury touched him very ſharply, and though outwardly matters were brought to ſome Accommodation between them, and *Craſſus* in the preſence of the people made the firſt ſtep towards it, by ſaying he thought it no ſhame to ſeek that man whom they had honoured with the Title of Great, the reconciliation was far from ſincerity; for *Craſſus* could not hide his regret, nor whenever *Pompey* was named in his hearing with the Title of Great, forbear asking in a ſcoffing manner, how much he was taller than himſelf. *Caſar*, who thought himſelf at this time too young to become the head of a Party, embarqued himſelf in *Craſſus* his intereſt, as well to balance the Credit of *Pompey*, as to aſſiſt himſelf with that of *Craſſus* againſt his own Creditours, who at this time began to be importunate, and yet for all this there was little reſemblance between their Inclinati-

ons. *Crassus* was a good-Husband, even to Avarice, and *Cesar* liberal to Prodigality. Either his love, or his State-Intrigues had already ruined him, and we may judge of his other Expences by the Present he once made to *Servilia* the Mother of *Brutus*, of a Pearl that cost six thousand Sesterces. These three men already began to give suspicion and jealousie to all the other Senatours, such as were * *Catulus*, * *Bibulus*, and ‖ *Marcellus*, but above all the rest * *Cicero*, who endeavoured as much as any to signalize his Zeal for the Commonwealth; and though he could pretend no great Authority from his Extraction, nor was much Ambitious to be thought a very great Souldier; yet the advantages of his Wit, the Charms of his Eloquence, and the happy discovery which he had made of *Catiline*'s Conspiracy in the time of his Consulship, brought him into very great consideration: But besides that, this Action (of which he always in his Harangues took occasion to make mention, and very often too to very little purpose had occasioned some railery upon his Vanity; the Punishment of * *Lentulus* and other great Ones concerned in the Conspiracy, had created him many powerfull Enemies. And it may be upon that occasion the Troubles of *Rome* were renew'd.

* Lutatius, † Calphurnius, ‖ Claudius, * Tullius.

* Cornelius.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Cæsar's design upon Cicero, *and* Cicero's *reply to* Metellus Nepos.

Cæsar had had very ſtrait Alliances with many of *Catiline*'s Accomplices, which made him not altogether unſuſpected: But *Cicero* thought it not fit to inſiſt much upon that point, leſt his Credit might become an Argument in favour of the other Offenders. *Cæsar* had other Cauſes to be angry with the Senate, by reaſon of ſome diſpute he had with them during the time of his being Pretor: He conſulted with *Metellus* * *Nepos*, Tribune of the People, to bring *Cicero* to an account of his Conduct; and *Nepos*, ſeconded by † *Beſtia*, the other Tribune, declared aloud, that he could not ſuffer that *Cicero* ſhould have the liberty of ſpeaking to the people in quitting his Conſulſhip, in regard that he himſelf had Condemned Senatours without hearing their Defences. It is true, that *Cicero* had done ſo by reaſon of the preſent danger, but it is true too, that he did it with the advice of the Senate: Nevertheleſs, when he preſented himſelf to ſpeak, the Tribunes oppoſed him, and onely would permit him to take the uſual Oath; which was, That he had never done any thing to the prejudice of the

* Cæcilius.

† Calphurnius.

the Commonwealth: *Cicero*, who upon that occaſion was very preſent to himſelf, contrived to turn all that Indignity they deſigned him, to his Honour, and ſwore that he not onely had not prejudiced the Commonwealth, but had ſaved the Senate, and the People of *Rome*. All the Aſſembly Applauded the thing; and the next day *Cicero* complained to the Senate of the inſolency of the Tribunes. To this *Nepos* made his reply, and in the heat of the diſpute, *Cicero*, who never wanted an Anſwer, had an occaſion of making a very good one: For *Nepos*, who miſtook the extraction of *Cicero*, demanded of him very often, who was his Father? To which he replyed; *If any Credit may be given to the behaviour of your Mother, that were a harder Queſtion for you to anſwer than me.* Afterwards, when the matter was put to a debate, the Senate judged that for the reputation of their Authority, they ought to ſtand by *Cicero*, and ſo made a Decree that no body ſhould be called henceforward to account for the death of any of the Conſpiratours, and that they who ſhould preſume to ſpeak before the People, ſhould be looked upon as Enemies to their Countrey: The Tribunes provoked by that Decree, which ty'd up their mouths, and eſtabliſhed, as they ſaid, the Tyranny of *Cicero*, propoſed to the People by the advice of *Cæſar*, to recall *Pompey*, who at that time

time Commanded a powerfull Army in *Asia*; the pretence was to put into his care the interests of the Commonwealth, which this new growing Tyranny seem'd to threaten. But *Cæsar*'s secret designs indeed were to unite himself with him: This Proposition entangled the Senatours, many of whom were *Pompey*'s Friends, and the other afraid of his Army, so that they durst not openly oppose it; but were for finding out some one man, who upon that occasion would for their interests sacrifice himself to the hatred of *Pompey*: * *Cato* offered himself very frankly, and perhaps was drawn into it by the cunning of *Cicero*. *Cato* had been bred up in the Austere Maximes of his great Grand-father, *Cato* the Censor, and in the rigid Opinions of the Stoicks: *Cicero* knew his Character very well, and has defined it very pleasantly, that he was severe in his Manners, steady in his Conduct, unalterable in his Opinions, pitiless towards Offenders, and no mincer of faults, believing that a wise man could never be deceived, and therefore never repented, and that the Vertuous onely were really happy, rich and handsome; in a word, of an excellent disposition, but seldom thought right, and one that spoke in the Senate, as if he had been in the Commonwealth of *Plato*, when he was in the midst of the corruptions of *Rome*. To speak truth, he was the onely man amongst them

* Marcus Porcius Cato.

them that heartily deſigned the real good of the Republick, and it was by that he juſtly acquired the reputation of his Vertue. He was at that time Tribune of the people with *Nepos* and *Beſtia*; the principal Authority of which charge conſiſted in putting ſtop to any thing which other Magiſtrates might propoſe to the prejudice of the people: So he oppoſed in the Senate the Opinion of *Nepos*, and afterwards when that Tribune brought the matter before the people, and had gathered together a great many Souldiers in Arms to make the Law paſs. *Cato* onely preſented himſelf with **Thermus* one of his Acquaintance, and looking upon thoſe that threatned him, with an undaunted air, he went and ſeated himſelf between *Cæſar* and *Nepos*. He told *Nepos*, That it argued very little Courage in him to Aſſemble together ſo many men in Arms againſt one ſingle, and without any; and afterwards when the Regiſter would have read the Edict, he tore it out of his hand. *Nepos*, who knew it by heart, would have pronounced it, but *Thermus* laid his hand upon his mouth. At which, *Nepos* gave the ſign to his Souldiers, when inſtantly, and in a moments time, Vollies of Clubs and Stones were flying round the place, the people ran away, and *Cato* had certainly been ſlain, had not ** Murena* covered him with his Robe, and Conducted him into the Temple of *Caſtor* and

*Minutius.

* Lucius Murena.

and *Pollux* : Upon which occaſion this Action of *Murena* appeared the more generous in that he expoſed his life for a man who not long before had accuſed him of Crimes to take it away. The people enraged, returned a moment after in great numbers, and drove away the Souldiers of *Nepos*. *Cato* came back again upon the place, and exhorted the *Romans*, if they would ever, now to give Teſtimony of their Courage: In fine, the Law did not paſs; and *Nepos* after a great many Threatnings thought fit to withdraw himſelf from *Rome*, and went to find out *Pompey*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Concerning Clodius, *and the return of* Pompey.

LOve, or rather that Debauchery which reigned in *Rome*, even to excess, came at last (as it usually does) to increase disorders, and furnish out new matter for the Spirit of Sedition and Revenge to work upon. *Clodius* a young man of a Noble Family, rich, and well accomplished, was one of those that affected to be thought well with the Ladies*; and manag'd matters with so little discretion, that the scandal of the times did not spare him even in relation to his own Sisters, whereof he had three Married to Men of the best Quality, *Martius* sirnamed *Rex*, * *Metellus Celer*, Brother to *Nepos*, and *Lucullus*. He was at that time in love with *Pompeia*, *Cæsar*'s Wife, but that Lady was too closely guarded under the Conduct of *Aurelia*, a Woman of untainted Vertue, and *Cæsar*'s Mother: Now the *Romans* observed a certain Festival, which they called the Feast of the Good Goddess, who was a Nymph, espoused of *Faunus*, wherein the Women onely had right of assisting at the Sacrifices, which they performed every year in the house of one of the Magistrates, from whence the men were obliged to withdraw

* Cæcilius Marcus Lucullus.

draw themſelves; one onely being enough to profane the Myſteries, ſhould he be preſent: *Clodius* thought this opportunity might be favourable to him for the obtaining ſome moments converſation with *Pompeia*, who then preſided at the Ceremony, the Feaſt being kept at her Houſe, by reaſon her Husband was *Pretor*. He diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a Woman, and was introduced by a Slave, who immediately ran to give her Miſtreſs notice. But ſhe not returning ſo ſoon as was expected, *Clodius* raſh and impatient, venturing farther into the Houſe, was ſtopt upon the ſtairs by a Woman that belonged to *Aurelia*, who knowing him by his voice, gave a great ſhriek, and Allarum'd the Company. The Feaſt was diſturbed, the Myſteries preſently ſhut up and concealed, and the Women immediately upon ſearch for *Clodius*, who having made his eſcape out of her hands who diſcovered him, had concealed himſelf in the Chamber of the Slave that firſt brought him thither, where at laſt he was found, and driven out of the Houſe with Reproaches and Infamy. This adventure became the next days publick diſcourſe, and every body was aſham'd at the ſtory. But *Cæſar* reſolv'd to take the wiſeſt and moſt honourable courſe he could, and being unwilling, (as his Affairs then ſtood,) to make any man his Enemy, was contented, without declaring againſt

his

his Wife, to put her away privately, and being afterwards asked the Reaſon, ſaid, he did not believe her guilty. But that the Wife of *Cæſar* ought to have preſerved her ſelf from the ſuſpicion, as well as the Crime. *Cornificius* made a report of this matter in an Aſſembly of the Senate, who referring it to the conſideration of the Veſtals and chief Prieſts, they declared their Opinion that it was an Offence of the higheſt nature againſt the Gods and their Religion: It was then put to the Queſtion for the exhibiting of Informations, and appointing Judges; Upon this occaſion, the whole City became divided, and the Animoſities of the Factions were renewed. *Cæſar* upon the expiration of his Pretorſhip was to go and take poſſeſſion of the Government of *Spain*, but was retarded by the Proſecution of his Creditours. *Craſſus* who was his Friend, and wrought upon by the importunities of his Wife *Tertulla*, who no leſs loved *Cæſar* than *Clodius* did *Pompeia*, became ſecurity for him in the ſum of Eight hundred and thirty Talents. It was in this Government that *Cæſar* viewing the ſtatue of *Alexander*, wept to think that he had done nothing great and memorable, at an Age wherein that Prince had Conquered almoſt all the World. And he gave indeed ſufficient marks and evidences of his Bravery and deſire of Glory, for he reduced all thoſe Nations to be Tributaries to the

the Romans, and collected together ſo vaſt a Treaſure to himſelf, and in the name of the Commonwealth, as enabled him afterwards to imitate that *Alexander*. *Pompey* was now returned home to *Rome*, covered with Glories for the defeat of *Mithridates*, and the Conqueſt of the greater part of *Aſia*: He had upon his arrival in *Italy*, ſent back his Troops to prevent ſuch ſuſpicions as might ariſe from his coming at the head of an Army, ſo that he obtained the honour of Triumph with a general Applauſe, and with ſo much more Splendour, in regard that he now Triumphed over another third part of the World, after having received the ſame Honour for the Conqueſt of two parts before. The Triumph laſted two days, wherein were expoſed the names of fifteen Conquer'd Provinces, eight hundred Cities, and a thouſand Caſtles. The Gold, the Silver, and the Jewels that made up part of this publick Pomp, amounted to the value of two Millions of Gold: He made it appear by an account plainly ſtated, that he had improved the revenue of the Commonwealth twelve Millions, without mentioning what he had diſtributed amongſt his Men of War, whereof the meaneſt Souldiers ſhare was a hundred and fifty Crowns. Amongſt his Priſoners appeared the Son of *Tygranes*, the King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter. *Zozima* the Wife of

King *Tigranes* himself. *Aristobulus* King of the Jews. The Sister of *Mithridates*, with five of her Children. The Ladies of *Scythia*, and the * *Hyberian*, and † *Albanian* Hostages, with those of the King of ‖ *Comagena*. But one disgustfull thing in his Family, troubled all the Joy which the lustre of so much glory might else have given him; his Wife *Mutia* had not seen *Cæsar* with altogether so much Caution as was requisite, and some people more officious than was necessary, had taken pains to give him notice of it upon his first coming down into *Italy*, so that immediately after his Arrival at *Rome*, he put her away. Besides, *Pompey* found an occasion not to be very well pleased with the Senate, for (in regard that those who demanded the Triumph, were not permitted to enter the City,) he had desired the Election of Consuls might be deferred till after his Triumph was over, that he might be present to assist the Pretensions of *Piso* one of his Lieutenants, *Cato* opposed it, and persuaded the Senate to reject the demand. But the People resolved to maintain the Authority of *Pompey*, and *Piso* was chosen Consul with * *Messala*: *Pompey* afterwards solicited that all things done by him in *Asia* and elsewhere, might be confirmed and approved of. But all other matters were now set aside for the dispatching the business of *Clodius*, who desiring to know

* *The People of that Countrey, called now* Georgia.

† *The People inhabiting near the Caspian Sea.*

‖ *A Neighbouring Province to* Syria.

* *The year after the foundation of* Rome, 693.

if

if the choice of the Judges were in the Pretor or the People: *Pompey* avoided the declaring himſelf upon that Point: but *Meſſala*, *Craſſus*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Lucullus*, and all the honeſt Party were for the Pretor. *Piſo* the Conſul aſſiſted by *Curio* at the head of all the young Men, appeared on the other ſide. And the matter was debated with a great deal of ſharpneſs. *Cato* inveighed againſt the Conſul; *Clodius*, who was preſent, anſwered him with Anger, and in his ſpeeches uttered reproachfull Language againſt *Lucullus*, *Hortenſius*, and *Meſſala* himſelf. In ſhort, after a high and hot Conteſt both in the Senate, and before the People, *Hortenſius* a Noble Senatour, and one not inferiour for Eloquence to *Cicero* himſelf, propoſed the Publiſhing of the Edict by *Fuſius* the Tribune. The People inſiſted upon their Right of chuſing the Judges, and by the underhand management of *Clodius*, at laſt they were named. He alledged, that upon the day of the Feſtival of the Good Goddeſs he was not in *Rome*; and offered to prove it. Now *Cicero* had had an Intrigue with one of *Clodius* his Siſters, who thought to have Married him. But his Wife *Terentia*, a haughty and jealous Woman, quickly broke off that Correſpondence, and made her Husband depoſe, that upon the very ſame day whereon *Clodius* pretended not to have been in *Rome*, he made him a viſit

at his Houſe. This Action, the effect of a Womans Jealouſie, was the Fountain of all that hatred which *Clodius* afterwards conceived againſt *Cicero*, and which, upon the rebound, affected, even the Republick it ſelf, in obliging him to contribute ſo much as he did to the union of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*. Now then, his Evidence being received with Honour; and the Judges demanding Guards for their ſafety, *Clodius* by his Cunning and Money carried the Cauſe, and of the fifty Judges that were appointed, thirty appeared and declared for him: Upon which occaſion, *Cicero* told *Clodius* (who reproached him, for that the Judges would not credit him) *they are the thirty who took your Money when they would not take your word; the other twenty were ſatisfied with mine:* And *Catulus* ſeeing them returning from the place where they gave Judgment, Rallied them, ſaying, *They had done wiſely to deſire Guards, they might elſe have been robb'd of the Money they had gotten.* This Decree of Judgment offended all the honeſter ſort in *Rome*; and *Cicero* above the reſt, who had raſhly drawn upon himſelf the hatred of a Man, of ſo great Credit, and one raſh and violent, even to madneſs; ſo that from that time he thought to aſſiſt himſelf, by making a friendſhip with *Pompey* againſt *Clodius*, who meditated nothing but Revenge, and to bring

bring it in ſome meaſure about, had contrived under-hand to get himſelf the Tribuneſhip. But conſidering he was of one of the firſt Families of the Patricians, who never were wont to be received into thoſe charges, *Metellus* his own Brother-in-Law oppoſed his Deſign, and he loſt it.

CHAP. IV.

Pompey *makes the Conſuls: He ruffles the Senate. The union of* Cæſar *and* Pompey.

AFter this, *Pompey* again began to ſolicite the Confirmation of all that he had done in *Aſia*, and a reward for his Souldiers, for which he demanded the ſetting apart of certain Lands: He had already prevailed by his Credit in the Election of two Conſuls, *Metellus Celer*, and * *Afranius*, but quickly found himſelf miſtaken in his Choice: *Afranius*, who was a man wholly given over to his Pleaſure, never acquired to himſelf any Authority in the Senate; and *Metellus* drowned every thought of any new obligation he had to *Pompey*, in remembrance of the Diſgrace done to his Siſter *Mutia*. *Cato* on the other ſide ſet all his Power againſt the Intereſts of *Pompey*, and *Lucullus* was for being revenged of him, for that he had

* *The year of* Rome, 699.

deprived him of the Honour of Triumphing over *Mithridates*: The ordinary methods upon these Occasions, was the gaining of the Tribunes. The People being always managed and guided by those Magistrates set over them for the defence of their Privileges against the Senate, and it was upon this pretence the Tribunes usually supported themselves, their Authority well managed, being so highly respected, that they had power of Imprisoning even the Consuls themselves. *Flavius* one of these Tribunes, proposed the Edict or Law for the reward of the Souldiers. *Metellus* interposed with his Authority for the hindrance of it, till the Contest rising even to blows and bloudshed, the Tribune caused the Consul to be Arrested; and when the Senate in a whole body would have made themselves Prisoners with him, placed his Tribunal at the Prison door, and forbad them entrance. Upon which the Senate caused in another place the walls to be broken down, so that by these means it came to pass that private hatred, interest, and each particular passion, began dayly to mingle themselves in *Rome*, disguised in the business of the Commonwealth. And by this example we may reasonably judge of all other such Quarrels; The constancy of the Senate began to shake the resolutions of the People, who evermore judge of all extraordinary Actions by their out-

outward appearances. This *Pompey* quickly perceived, and made it his requeſt to the Tribune, that matters might be accommodated, pretending Commiſſion from *Metellus* for his ſo doing, which he that well underſtands the firmneſs and reſolution of that Conſul will find very hard to believe. Now *Cæſar* had very good intelligence of all theſe diſturbances, and of the reaſons *Pompey* had to be diſſatisfied, ſo that he now reſolved either to improve his own Authority with the Senate, or take ſome handſome opportunity to quit their intereſt: His ſervices in *Spain* had deſerved the Honour of Triumph, ſince it had been often allowed upon leſs occaſions, inſomuch that he demanded it, and declared at the ſame time his deſign was to purſue alſo the Conſulſhip. Now theſe demands were inconſiſtent, for that the Law forbids any one that demanded the Triumph entrance into the City, and required that whoſoever ſued for the Conſulſhip, muſt doe it in his proper Perſon. *Cæſar* therefore ſent his Letters to the Senate, deſiring that he might be diſpenſed withall in reſpect of thoſe Formalities. But *Cato* in his uſual manner ſtood up for the maintaining of the Laws to their utmoſt rigour, and his Opinion prevailed above all others, ſo that then *Cæſar* without any farther conſideration reſolved to renounce the Triumph, and came to *Rome* to ſolicite the

Conſulſhip. And as he very well underſtood the Credit of *Pompey*, and was not ignorant of his Quarrel to the Senate, this appeared no unfavourable juncture for him to engage himſelf into his Intereſts. *Pompey* on the other ſide was no leſs glad to gain a man of ſuch extraordinary Merit, and the Friends of both Parties began to promiſe themſelves no ſmall advantages from the union, ſo that it was eaſily brought about, and their Alliance confirmed by mutual Oaths. When this was done, *Caſar* made it his buſineſs to bring *Craſſus* into the League, who ſeeing his intereſt too weak to diſpute it with two ſuch Men, was eaſily perſuaded to ſtrengthen it by joining with theirs, and *Caſar* being made Judge of the Diſpute between *Pompey* and him, managed the matter ſo well, that a perfect Reconciliation was eſtabliſhed between them, and all the Subjects of their former differences utterly forgotten. Now nothing could appear outwardly an Action of more Honour, than the reconciling of two men, whoſe hatred might have produced ſo terrible effects as theirs: But that League which was called afterwards the *Triumvirate* was the firſt power that ever broke in upon the Liberty of *Rome*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Cæſar's Conſulſhip, and what follow'd.

THE firſt effect of it was the promotion of *Cæſar* to the Conſulſhip: he had two that ſtood againſt him; *Luceius* who was very Covetous, and very Rich, and *Bibulus*: *Luceius* was taken off by great Promiſes, and bribed to bring what voices he could for *Cæſar*: The Senatours who ſupported *Bibulus*, made a voluntary Collection among themſelves, and gave as much on their ſide: So that *Bibulus* was choſen with *Cæſar*. *Cato* himſelf being perſuaded to believe that the Law which forbad all manner of Bribery on theſe occaſions, ought nevertheleſs at that time to give place to the intereſt of the Commonwealth. In a word, *Cæſar* was choſen one, and from that time wholly apply'd himſelf to win the favour of the People, and the Argument he wrought by, was the *Agrarian* Law; this Law was a Propoſition for the diſpoſal of ſuch Lands as belong'd to the Republick in common, in favour of the poor Souldiers, and ſuch of the People as had more than three Children. The People it is to be imagined were always very well pleaſed with this Propoſition. For the moſt violent Mutinies that had ever

ever hapned in the City of *Rome*, (such as those of the * *Gracchi*, and others) had been made upon this occasion, and Examples are to be found of the like nature in all the Roman History. *Cæsar* had besides taken very proper methods; for the Law was drawn in Terms so very just, that no Censure could find fault with it. He declared to the Senatours that he would think of doing nothing without their Authority, that he would not propose any of his Friends, or any body else that might be liable to suspicion as Commissioners for the disposal of it, but that they should be all Persons of Condition, such as had well discharged themselves of great Employments, and were of known Reputation and Ability: This fair and cautious way of dealing left hardly any room for contradiction. But all this while the Senate had it in their Power, if they thought fitting to oppose this Law. So that from day to day the affair was adjourned: Till at last *Cato* pulling off the Mask, declared how it was not to be suffered that any thing of the present Estate should be changed, the Senatours all pronounced their Opinion to be the same, and *Cæsar* complaining of the injustice and stubbornes of the Senate remitted the affair to the People, taking with him *Pompey* and *Crassus*, whose advice he asked concerning this Law: They both of them approved of

* Tiberius and Caius, who strongly asserting that Law, were slain by the Senatours. The name of their Family was Sempronius.

of it, and *Pompey* declared that if thoſe who oppoſed it ſhould come with their Swords in their hands, he would oppoſe his Sword and his Shield againſt them, ſo a day was appointed for the publiſhing of this Law. The People gathered together in great numbers, and ſpight of all oppoſition to the contrary, drove *Cato* and *Bibulus* himſelf with ſtones and clubs from off the place; the Conſuls Axes were broken in pieces, and the People approving the Ordinance, declared they would have all the Senatours ſwear to the obſervation of it. Almoſt all of them took the Oath except *Cato*, *Metellus* and *Favonius*, who nevertheleſs made ſhift to ſwallow it at laſt, to ſave the Fines that were ſetting on their heads: From this time *Bibulus* never durſt venture to appear in publick, and *Caſar* declared that he would not call the Senate any more that year. He nevertheleſs proceeded to paſs ſeveral Edicts before the People in ſpight of thoſe which *Bibulus* had cauſed to be fixed up againſt him, and *Pompey*, whom he already had by his diſcourſe brought into an ill Opinion with the People, as did appear from the Games which were celebrated in the honour of *Apollo*, where an excellent Comedian called *Diphilus*, ſpeaking theſe Verſes,

Parliament ſhorough

By

By our misfortunes thou dost great appear,
That Title once may chance to cost thee dear.

The People gave a general Applause, and made the Player repeat it over and over. Now this made *Pompey* think it convenient to enter into a stricter union with *Cæsar*, by the Alliances of Consanguinity. So he Wedded *Julia* the Daughter of *Cæsar*, who was very Beautifull, very Vertuous, and lived very well with him; *Cæsar* took also to Wife *Calphurnia*, the Daughter of *Lucius Piso*, whom they designed Consul for the year ensuing, with *Gabinius* a Creature of *Pompey*'s. In short, all that *Pompey* had done in *Asia* was confirmed and approved of, and the Government of all *Gaul* and *Illyria* was given to *Cæsar* for five years, with the command of four Legions.

CHAP. VI.

The purſuit of Cæſar's *Conſulſhip. The Affair of* Vettius; Clodius *admitted into the popular Order. The Baniſhment of* Cicero.

THIS manner of proceeding extremely Allarum'd the Senate, every one laught at them publickly for their idleneſs, and negligence, and at the head of thoſe Acts where uſed to be inſcribed the names of the Conſuls, ſome body or other inſtead of *Cæſar* and *Bibulus*, wrote onely *Caius Cæſar*, and *Julius Cæſar*, which were onely two names, belonging to one man; beſides the Affair of *Vettius* appeared greatly to increaſe ſuſpicion, which was thus. He declared that *Bibulus*, *Lucullus*, *Domitius* and *Curio* had endeavour'd the perſuading of him to murther *Pompey*; indeed he did not name *Cicero*, but gave very ſhrewd ſigns of him, by ſaying, That a certain man of conſular Dignity, very Eloquent, and a Neighbour to *Bibulus*, had told him that they never ſtood in more need than now of a man bold and enterpriſing as * *Hala*, or the † Ancient *Brutus*. Adding moreover, that *Bibulus* had given him a Dagger. This laſt depoſition appear'd but as a mere jeaſt to the Senate, as if Daggers had been ſo very ſcarce at *Rome*, that no man

* Servilius, *who kill'd* Metius, *when he aſpired to the Tyranny.*

† *He who drove the* Tarquins *out of* Rome.

man could furnish himself with one, but at the hands of a Consul: Besides, *Bibulus* himself had given *Pompey* notice to beware of some Treason which threatned him; it came to pass too, afterwards, that *Vettius* named *Paulus*, for the chief of the Conspiracy, and it is very much to be believed that there were some more particular reasons than ordinary that moved him to it. *Cicero* says it was *Cæsar*, who had a mind to bring a reproach upon *Curio*, a young man of great expectations, but utterly opposite to his interest. In short, the Senate committed *Vettius* to Prison, upon pretence that he had worn Arms contrary to the Law in that case provided. So that every body according to their own inclination gave their particular account of this business: But all disputes of that nature were quickly ended by the fate of *Vettius*, who died in Prison, and being one of but obscure condition, there was no body who took very great pains to enquire how he came by his end. The management of *Cicero* in all this business began to render him very much suspected to the Triumvirate, and he had lost his reputation with them utterly by a discourse which he made against *Cæsar* in pleading for *Caius Antonius*, who had been his Collegue in the Consulship. *Cæsar* thought it not by any means worth his while to contend with *Cicero* in ill Language and Railing, and therefore took

took another way to revenge himſelf, and the very ſame day wrought the People to give their conſent for the Adoption of *Clodius*. This man who laboured by all means imaginable for the ruine of *Cicero*, aſpired (as was ſaid before) to the charge of the Tribuneſhip, and to take away the objection againſt that pretence, of his being of the Family of the *Patricians*, had procured himſelf to be Adopted by a man among the People, called *Flavius*. Now it was neceſſary that the People ſhould confirm this Adoption by their Approbation, and this was brought to paſs wholly by the Authority of *Cæſar*. *Cicero* was too-ſharp ſighted not to diſcern eaſily whither this matter tended; but was ſufficiently convinced when he ſaw *Clodius* made Tribune of the People: He appealed for Protection to the Senate, and laboured underhand among the order of Knights, with whom he was in very great eſteem, in regard that he had once fallen out with *Cato* himſelf, for the ſupporting of the Farmers in their Rights of the Commonwealth, who were almoſt all of them belonging to that order. But his ſtrongeſt hope was in the Friendſhip of *Pompey*, with whom he had always preſerved a very ſtrict Alliance: But *Pompey* had already ſacrificed every thing of that kind to the inclinations of *Cæſar* and *Craſſus*, whom *Cicero* had mortally offended by

that

that eternal itch which he had to be jeaſting. *Pompey* aſſured him nevertheleſs of his Protection; and *Cæſar* offered to make him his Lieutenant General: 'tis true, he had a very good ſtomach to that employment: But *Pompey* adviſed him not to leave *Rome*, and *Clodius* found too a device now to delude him with falſe hopes of Reconcilement, by the means of his Siſter, (whom ſome of *Cicero*'s Friends entirely governed) to the end that he might be confounded, and born down, e'er he could think of any meaſures for his defence: In ſhort, all the world conſpired to deceive him, the piercing judgment and delicacy of Apprehenſion, upon which he was wont ſo much to value himſelf, became abſolutely unſerviceable upon this occaſion, and he knew not what was contrived againſt him till it was too late, and impoſſible to avoid it. *Clodius* by the diſtributions of Corn, which he made of his own free gift among the Poor, began to get ground in the good Opinion of the People, and afterwards forbad the Cenſors to ſet the mark of Infamy upon any man, without the conſent of the Senatours, and Roman Knights. At laſt, which was the principal movement of all, he propoſed the Law for enquiring into all ſuch as had cauſed any Roman Citizen to be put to death, without having time given him to make his defence. And now every one began to ſee the danger

ger which threatned *Cicero*; all his wonted conſtancy forſook him, and he went up and down the City, ſoliciting his Cauſe from Houſe to Houſe in a mourning Robe, with his Beard grown long, and his hair unregarded, attended by Roman Knights, to the number of twenty thouſand, all bearing him company, and beſeeching in his behalf: Beſides, a great many young men of Noble Families, who had learnt of him the rules of Eloquence, and amongſt the reſt the very Sons of *Craſſus*. But *Clodius*, followed by a number of armed Souldiers, inſulted over him, and reproached him with the meanneſs of his behaviour, till it almoſt came to the throwing of ſtones and dirt at each other. But the reſpect which was always had to the Office of Tribunes, their Perſons being held as Sacred, hindred any of *Cicero*'s ſide from returning the injuries that were offered, yet nevertheleſs the Senatours were of Opinion to order a general habit of mourning; but *Piſo* and *Gabinius*, who were Conſuls, hindered the debate from coming to any concluſion, and *Clodius* ſummoning them to appear before the People, all that *Piſo* ſaid, was, That he took no delight in Cruelty, but *Gabinius* condemned the Conſulſhip of *Cicero*. His onely retreat now was to the favour of *Pompey*, who was indeed able to have done him good ſervice, as well by the Alliance he had with *Clodius*, as alſo by his Authority with *Gabinius*, who depended abſolutely upon him: But *Pompey* would

have nothing to doe in the matter, and when *Cicero* came to prefer his Cauſe to him, made his eſcape by a back door to avoid ſeeing of him. He found himſelf now reduced to the laſt neceſſity of taking up Arms for the defence of his life, which he might eaſily have done, and would have found a great many followers. But War was not his Province, or as he ſaid himſelf, Not being able to bear the bloudſhed of his Countrey-men, and Fellow-Citizens, he reſolved upon the advice of *Cato* and the reſt of his Friends, to withdraw himſelf: ſo taking a little ſtatue of *Minerva*, which he had in his Houſe, he carried it to the Capitol, and made a Dedication of it there, with this Inſcription, *To* Minerva *the Guardian of the City*. So immediately left *Rome*, and went into *Sicily*. After this retreat, *Clodius* cauſed *Cicero* to be baniſhed by the Votes of the People, forbidding any one to receive, or give him entertainment within five hundred miles of the City. After this he cauſed his Palaces both in the City and the Countrey, to be demoliſhed, and Dedicated the ground whereon that in the City ſtood, to the Goddeſs *Concordia*, which was a proceeding never till then uſed towards any man, who had not been declared a Traitor to the Commonwealth. In ſhort, he omitted nothing which might expreſs all that it was poſſible for hatred and revenge to inſpire.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The departure of Cæſar *for the Gallick War, and the return of* Cicero.

AS we may juſtly call theſe Proceedings the Preludes of Civil War, in regard they were effects of the Union of *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, which according to the Opinion of *Cato*, ruined the Foundations of the Roman Liberty. It will be neceſſary that we now come to particulars. *Cæſar* left *Rome* at this time, and indeed with ſomething more haſte than was ordinary. In regard he was threatned to be called to an account of his Conduct during his Conſulſhip; ſome Tribunes of the People whom he had gained to his Party, oppoſed the buſineſs, in regard he was then abſent upon the Service of the Commonwealth, yet could not carry it ſo, but that his Queſtor or Treaſurer was condemned. *Cæſar* was then beginning the War againſt the *Gauls*, whom he afterwards Conquered, *Pompey* remaining alone at *Rome* with an abſolute Authority, for *Craſſus* appeared wholly taken up with increaſing his own private Fortune, and improving its Revenues; *Cicero* was Baniſhed, and *Lucullus*, who was the onely man capable of diſputing the firſt Poſt, by his merit, and the great Actions he had done, had ſetled himſelf in a private retreat, where he enjoyed all thoſe pleaſures of Magnificence,

and perfect living, upon which the Proverb was afterwards grounded of *Lucullus* his Meal. Now this opportunity put it into *Clodius*'s head (who was as vain and extravagant as was necessary for such a Project) to establish his Reputation upon the Ruine of *Pompey*'s. The happy success of his Designs hitherto, and the favour of the People, made nothing appear impossible to his hopes. So he immediately took off *Cato* upon pretence of sending him against *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus*. *Claudius* thought himself injured by that Prince; because, when he was a Prisoner among the Corsaires, he sent him onely two Talents to pay his Ransome: This *Ptolemy* was very rich, and having gotten intelligence that the Romans would declare War against him, put himself to Sea with the best part of his Treasure. *Clodius* apply'd himself next to the business of *Pompey*, setting the Sons of *Tygranes*, over whom *Pompey* had Triumphed, out of Prison. *Gabinius* would needs oppose this mad proceeding, but *Clodius* guarded by armed Slaves, whom he had drawn out of the Mountains of *Tuscany*, attack'd him upon the place, broke the Axes which were carry'd before him, as Consul, and wounded a great many of those that followed him. Now *Pompey* saw by this, that it was high time for him to take other measures, and upon consideration could think of no man so fit for the purpose, as *Milo*, who was then too Tribune, a man fond of any under-

undertaking, wherein there appeared a proſpect of Preferment; beſides, he was *Cicero*'s Friend, and ſtout to the laſt extremity: *Pompey* reſolved too to have *Cicero* recalled, and to that end uſed his beſt intereſt with his Friends: To this deſign, *Clodius* oppoſed himſelf, and was ſeconded in it by his Brother *Appius*, and *Metellus Nepos*, who was choſen Conſul for a little while, and had been an ancient Enemy of *Cicero*'s: The other Conſul *Lentulus*, whom *Clodius* hated; for that he had been againſt him in the affair of *Pompeia*, declared himſelf openly for *Cicero*, as did all the Senate. Upon this, *Quintus* follows with all diligence the calling home of *Cicero* his Brother, and *Milo* was to publiſh the Proclamation: Therefore as each of theſe two Parties ſupported themſelves under the Authority of one of the Conſuls, the Sedition grew to be very terrible. Now the Romans were wont to be very expenſive in the Pomp of their Funerals, and amongſt many other ſhews, uſed to exhibite thoſe which were called the *Funeral Sports*, where after a barbarous manner the Gladiatours fought to the utmoſt earneſt, and ſlew one another in honour of the dead perſon, whoſe Memory they Celebrated: *Appius* had upon this occaſion a great number of theſe to pay thoſe laſt Offices of Duty to one of his dead Relations. *Clodius* aſſiſted by theſe Gladiatours, threw himſelf among the People that were gathered together for the recalling of *Cicero*: Upon which

infamous Clodius

aroſe the moſt horrid diſorders imaginable: many of the People were killed, the Tribunes were wounded, and *Quintus* was almoſt overwhelmed with the bodies of the dead, ſo that the People, unprepared for ſuch a ſurpriſal, ſeparated themſelves and fled. But after a day or two *Milo* ſeiſed upon *Clodius*, and carried him before the Pretors, to anſwer for thoſe violences, *Metellus* forbad the Pretors to take any cogniſance of the matter, ſo that at laſt *Milo* gathering together the truſtieſt of his Friends, and being guarded by the Gladiatours of *Pompey*, fiercely Conducted *Cicero*'s Brother into the publick place. This Tribune indeed ſeemed as if made on purpoſe for the oppoſing of *Clodius*, for he was every way as mutinous as he, but at the bottom was ſtouter, *Clodius* upon this returns, where it wanted but a hairs breadth of coming to a downright Battel, but that after a little bloud drawn as well on one ſide, as the other, *Clodius* was beaten off, and *Mark Anthony*, who was young, and at that time in *Cicero*'s Party follow'd him with his Sword in his hand, and had certainly killed him, had he not made his eſcape into the houſe of a certain Bookſeller, who concealed him under his Books. So that *Cicero*'s Friends remaining Maſters of the Field, cauſed a Decree to be paſſed for his return, and there appeared at that time ſo good an underſtanding between the Senate and the People, that of four hundred Senatours, there was none

none but *Clodius*, who was not for him; we may ſee in his works the Glory and Pomp of his return, with what an Air he ſpoke, and after what manner he treated thoſe that had injured him, how he tranſported himſelf againſt *Piſo*, *Gabinius*, and even poor *Clodia* too, whoſe Reputation he Maſſacred after a moſt mercileſs manner in the defence of *Cælius*. But this being little to our preſent purpoſe, let it ſuffice to ſay, that as he had too much wit not to take warning by Examples paſt, he took care to reform his Conduct and his Manners; he therefore applyed himſelf wholly to *Pompey*, whom he finding leagued ſo abſolutely with *Cæſar*, durſt not attempt the breach of their Alliance, judging very well (as he himſelf has expreſſed it) that it would have been but folly to have hoped it, and inſolence to have propoſed it; He therefore ſent his Brother into *Cæſar*'s ſervice, and maintain'd that way an honeſt and fair Correſpondency. In ſhort, he took all the meaſures of an exact Courtier, as well (as he himſelf afterwards acknowledged) in reſpect of their preſent Union, as of the Diviſion that might in time happen between them.

CHAP. VIII.

Cicero *unites himself with* Pompey, *who is chosen Consul with* Crassus. *Their union with* Cæsar *after the first Triumvirate.*

UPon this return of *Cicero*, there arose so great a want and scarcity in the City, especially of Corn, that the People were gathered together twice, and almost ready to stone the Consul, threatning to fire the Temple of *Concord* where the Senate was assembled; *Clodius* besides exaggerated their madness, by laying all to *Cicero*'s charge, so that that night they demanded the distribution of Corn from *Cicero*, with great noise and clamour, and the next day again at the very door of the Senate-house, which obliged him to propose, that *Pompey* might be Commissionated to manage the Provisions of *Rome*, with an absolute Authority, both by Land and Sea for the space of five years. Nor could he better acquit himself of the obligations he had to *Pompey*, than by putting into his hands the whole strength of the Commonwealth, and in consideration of the present exigency, his advice was approved of. But it was believed, and *Clodius* took upon him to declare it publickly, that the want of Corn was no better than a design contrived betwixt them both, for the bringing about that purpose, since immediately, upon putting the business into *Pompey*'s hands, there appeared

peared all the Plenty imaginable, and the Authority remained in him five years. In the mean time, as *Caſar's* Conqueſts eſtabliſhed him great reputation at *Rome*, ſo his Humanity, and other excellent qualities, abſolutely gain'd to him the hearts and affections of the Souldiery under his Command; neither did the buſineſs of his Wars abroad employ him ſo much, but that he had an eye too towards his affairs at home. He took care to ſend Magnificent Preſents to the Ladies, and all thoſe that were in any Authority; the Voluntiers, who went with him into *Gaul*, were entertained by him with a thouſand obligations, and returned home full of the Praiſes of his Generoſity. He returned afterwards to Winter in *Italy*, a great part whereof, by the name of the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, was under his command, which is at preſent all *Lombardy* entire, comprehending *Piedmont*, *Milain*, the State of *Venice* in *Italy*; in ſhort, all as far as the River *Rubicon*. *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, and almoſt all the Magiſtracy of *Rome* went to viſit him at *Lucca*, where he then reſided. They went attended with * *Lictors*, to the number of Six and twenty; Twelve whereof carried the Axes before the Conſuls, and the reſt waited upon the other Magiſtrates according to their quality and rank. It was in this place that the Triumvirate took new meaſures for their more ſtrict union, and the ſtrengthning their Authority: They reſolved that *Pompey* and *Craſſus* ſhould demand the Conſulſhip for the following

* *Theſe were a ſort of Officers like our City Serjeants.*

following year, and that *Ceſar* ſhould hold his Government five years longer. So that this Union, which they diſguiſed under the name of Friendſhip, was, in effect, no other thing, than each Man's private Ambition; and therefore we ought the leſs to wonder, if the ſame reaſons that united them now, were now the cauſes of their diviſion afterwards, when each of them began to think he was ſtrong enough to ſet up for himſelf. Now this reſolution of theirs alarm'd all thoſe of the Senate who wiſhed well to the Publick; and **Marcellinus*, one of the new Conſuls, talked very highly upon the occaſion, demanding of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, in preſence of the People, if they pretended to the Conſulſhip, to which *Pompey* reply'd fiercely, that he would doe as he himſelf thought beſt; but *Craſſus* anſwer'd in more modeſt terms, ſaying, That he ſhould proceed according to what he judged moſt for the advantage of the Republick. This Diſpute (as was uſual on the like occaſions) was improved almoſt to blows. And the Senate gave orders for a common habit of Mourning to be worn, as in caſes of a Publick calamity, and the reaſon they gave for it was, that the Proceedings of the Triumvirate were dangerous to the Government Eſtabliſhed, and contrary to Law. Indeed, as for *Pompey*, he found out a way to give ſufficient marks of the Nature of his Ambition. He had been affronted, to the laſt degree, by *Clodius*, in the buſineſs of *Ptolemy* King of

*Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.

Ægypt.

Ægypt. This Prince having been driven out of his Kingdom by the Rebellion of his Subjects, was come to *Rome* to demand aſſiſtence, and great Intrigues were ſet on foot for the Command of ſuch an Expedition, for *Ptolemy* offer'd very large Capitulations; *Lentulus*, the then Conſul, and *Pompey*, were thoſe who purſued it moſt warmly, and ſeemed to have the ſtrongeſt Intereſt: But *Clodius*, who loved neither the one nor the other, oppoſed them both. So that when the People were aſſembled upon that occaſion, he appeared, follow'd by thoſe ſort of Men, whom *Cicero* call'd *Clodius*'s Working-tools (it may be, becauſe they had helped him to demoliſh his Palace) and there interrupted the diſcourſe of *Pompey* with ſhoutings and clamours; and on the other ſide, when ever *Clodius* offer'd to ſpeak, *Pompey*'s party were as noiſie as their neighbours, and ſung out lewd Lampoons againſt *Clodius* and his Siſter. This *Clodius* took occaſion to revenge, not unpleaſantly; for, turning about to thoſe who were of his ſide, he begun to ask of them, Who was the moſt effeminate Commander in *Rome*? they anſwered, *Pompey*. Who was the Ladies Captain? *Pompey*. Who ſtarved the People? *Pompey*. And yet, Who had a mind to go into *Ægypt*? *Pompey*. And then, when he demanded of them, Who they would ſend? they anſwer'd, *Craſſus*: who indeed, for all the friendſhip between him and *Pompey*, had privately managed his own Intereſt that way,

way having *Clodius* for him among the People, and *Cato* in the Senate. *Clodius* indeed took care to be well paid for his pains; but *Cato* proceeded out of down-right honeſty, and oppoſed *Pompey* for no other reaſon, than that a *Sybill* had Propheſied, That there ſhould come a King of *Ægypt* to ask aſſiſtence of the *Romans*; That they ought to receive him as a Friend, but not to ſend him back with any Troops. *Cato* had a high diſpute with *Pompey* upon this ſubject; and *Pompey*, after having hinted at *Craſſus*, without naming him, declared, That there were thoſe who deſigned againſt his life, but that he ſhould take care to guard himſelf better than young *Scipio* had done, who was put to death by *Carbo*. In fine, *Pompey*, through all this buſineſs, managed himſelf but very indifferently, and was ou[illegible]gious againſt *Clodius*. Theſe things happe[illegible] before the Interview at *Lucca*. But *Pompey* ſeeing he had need of the People, and *Clodius* having a deſign upon the Office of *Edilis*, their particular Intereſts brought them ſoon to a better underſtanding; *Pompey* promiſed *Clodius* to aſſiſt him in his pretenſions, and *Clodius*, in favour of *Pompey*, hinder'd the holding of the *Comitia*, for the Election of Magiſtrates (for ſo the Aſſemblies of the People were called.) The deſign was to reduce the State of *Rome* to that which we call an Interregnum, which is that, when the choice of Conſuls failed, the moſt Illuſtrious of the Senatours ſhould take the charge of the Govern-

ment

ment by turns, each whereof had the power of naming Conſuls when it was his day; and as the manner was extraordinary, the uſual courſe of the Law was herein often diſpenſed withall. The buſineſs ſucceeded according to their wiſhes; *Domitius*, onely aſſiſted by *Cato* his Brother-in-law, preſented himſelf to the People, in competition with the two Triumviri, but they having filled the place with thoſe Souldiers which the young *Craſſus*, *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant, had brought on purpoſe out of *Gaul*, a ſlave of *Domitius*, that carried a Flambeaux before him, was killed upon the ſpot, the Maſter himſelf hardly eſcaping, and *Cato* received a wound in his Arm: ſo *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were choſen, but *Pompey* onely ſtood charged with the hatred which ſo unjuſt and violent a proceeding did really deſerve. *The year of Rome 699.*

CHAP. IX.

CHAP. IX.

Pompey *and* Craſſus *get themſelves Inveſted in Governments. The Cauſe of Diviſion between* Cæſar *and* Pompey.

TO paſs over the variety of matters which happen'd at *Rome*, during the five laſt years of *Cæſar*'s Government, and which have no relation to the ſubject in hand; beſides, that the repetition would be tedious, and that it may be, in ſome meaſure, gueſſed at, by what we have ſaid of the Intrigues about Elections, the ſtrugglings and hoſtilities before: It ſeemeth enough at preſent in groſs, and without the order of time, to take notice, that *Pompey* acquitted himſelf in what he promiſed *Clodius*, even to the hazard of his life. Since in the Aſſembly for the Election of *Ediles*, he had a Man killed ſo near him, that his Mantle was cover'd with the bloud. He revenged himſelf ſignally upon *Cato*, who, when he demanded the Pretorſhip, *Pompey* cauſed his pretenſions to be thrown out; and named, in prejudice of him, one *Vatinius*, who was one of the worſt and moſt obnoxious Men of that time. And in proceſs of time too he brought it about, that *Ptolemy* was eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom by *Gabinius*, with a powerfull Army, and all this merely by his own Authority, in ſpight of the *Sybills* Prophecy. *Gabinius* was afterwards called

led to an account for it when he came back to *Rome*, but by his Money and *Pompey*'s favour, he eſcaped a Condemnation, which he could never have avoided, had his miſcarriages been ſeverely proſecuted. Theſe things we now may ſee plainly have no relation to the Civil War, otherwiſe than as they diſcover the Power and Ambition of *Pompey*, which will much more appear in what is to follow, and belongs to the ſubject in hand. Now *Craſſus* and he ſeemed to affect a great deal of moderation, in regard of thoſe Governments, which, according to Cuſtome, were to be allotted them, upon the expiration of their Conſulſhip; but yet, nevertheleſs, manag'd matters otherwiſe under-hand, by the Tribunes of the People, who were to propoſe for them *Syria* and *Spain*, with *Africk* or *Libya*, as it was then called. To each of theſe Governments Armies were to be added, with full power and authority to make Peace and War at diſcretion; which gave opportunity too to *Cæſar*'s Friends to mention his five years. The whole affair, being privately agreed upon between the Triumviri, paſſed againſt all objection; *Pompey* got *Libya* and *Spain*, and *Craſſus*, *Syria*, with power to make War upon the *Parthians*; ſo that their Union did ſtill ſupport it ſelf, in appearance, though it were really already ruined in the foundation, at leaſt between *Pompey* and *Cæſar*; nor need we ſeek for other reaſons for it, than the Jealouſie, which the Emulation, of thoſe two great Men, raiſed of each other. *Pompey* had

had ſeen himſelf, for many years, at the head of the rank of *Romans*, and, to give him his due, it was not without Juſtice, for he had enlarged the *Roman* Empire farther than any other had done before him. He had Triumphed over three parts of the World; over *Africk*, by the defeat of *Domitius* in *Libya*; over *Europe*, by that of *Perpenna* in *Spain*, and over *Aſia*, after having vanquiſhed King *Mithridates*, one of the moſt formidable Enemies *Rome* ever had, and all this too without the leaſt diſgrace. From this high degree of Glory he lookt down upon all other *Romans* as his Inferiours. And therefore, as he knew the Merits of *Cæſar*, and the advantages which accrued to him from his Illuſtrious Birth and Education. He could not, without much regret, ſee, that his great actions in the *Gallick* War began to put him in a condition of diſputing, even with himſelf, for Glory gotten in Arms. On the other ſide, *Cæſar* having received, both by Nature and Education, all thoſe qualifications that go to the Compoſition of a Great Man, had too much fire, to hear with patience, any Man's Pride, that affected to appear above him, and therefore, whenever he had an occaſion of ſhewing his abilities, he made ſo good uſe of it, that he quickly found himſelf in a condition to eaſe *Pompey* of that advantage, by which he thought he deſerved ſo very much above all other *Romans*. And Fortune too was as indulgent to him now, as ſhe had been to *Pompey* before; but ſhe utterly

abandoned

abandoned *Craſſus*, who could never riſe up to the leaſt pretenſions, for he was defeated, and loſt his life in the *Parthian* War; and the death of that Triumvir, who, while he lived, was as a check upon the other two, left them now an open field for their Ambition and Emulation to work in.

CHAP. X.

The death of Pompey's *Wife* Julia. *The Magnificent Shews he gave the People. The death of* Clodius.

Pompey had now for ſome time done all that was in his power to diminiſh the reputation of *Caeſar*'s Conqueſts, obliging the Magiſtrates not to publiſh any Letters they received, till he had fore-ſtalled the credit of them, by ſpreading falſe and diſadvantageous reports. This gave great cauſe of trouble to all thoſe who foreſaw the miſeries that muſt attend a Rupture between two ſo extraordinary Men; and what augmented their fears more, was the death of *Julia Pompey*'s Wife, which happen'd at the ſame time: *Pompey* loved her even with paſſion, which one would have thought might have been of conſideration enough to have healed differences between the Father and the Son-in-law. For *Julia* had Wit as well as Virtue, and always a great aſcendant over both their diſpoſitions. The People of *Rome* gave ſufficient teſtimo-

ny of the respect they bore her, by publick demonstrations of their sorrow; and when *Pompey* would have carried her Body to one of his houses near *Alba*, the People opposed it, and bore it into the Field of *Mars*, where they paid it the last Rites of Funeral with all Magnificence: From this moment *Pompey* resolved to think of nothing but his own particular advancement; and, for the restoring of himself to the favour of the People, caused a stately Theatre to be builded, which he dedicated to them by Plays, and other magnificent Shews; which were not at all pleasing to *Cicero*, as appears from one of his *Epistles*: It was reported too afterwards at *Rome*, That that Theatre was not built at the expences of *Pompey*, but that *Demetrius*, one of his Freed-men had defray'd the charge of it, as a piece of gratitude and acknowledgment for the Immense fortune he had raised under his Master, so that *Pompey* himself reap'd little advantage from that undertaking. The spirits of the People too were sharpened against him, by the extreme violence which he used, in raising those Troops which were to follow *Crassus*, at the time when that General departed upon his unfortunate Expedition against the *Parthians*: For it was a thing disapproved of at *Rome*, and approved by one of the Tribunes, who, when he could not hinder it, uttered such horrible Curses and Imprecations against *Crassus*, as it was believed called down that misfortune upon his head, which cost the

Romans

Romans a Hundred thousand Men, and *Crassus* himself his own life, as well as his Son, whom *Cicero* takes occasion to mention with an extraordinary Character. In the mean time *Pompey*, whose Government was now expired, took other measures, and pretended, upon the disgusts he had received, to withdraw himself from any Administration in the Republick, so that the Government fell into horrible disorders. And the pretensions to publick Offices grew to such excess, that it was apparent, upon the creation of *Ediles*, there were deposited Eight hundred Talents for the packing of Suffrages, and the City of *Rome* was eight entire months without any Magistrates. The fury of those Factions, under the names of *Clodius* and *Milo*, produced nothing but daily Murthers, till no body durst walk the streets but Armed; which gave occasion to those of *Pompey*'s party to insinuate, that his retirement was prejudicial, and a loss to the Publick; and, at the same time proposed, that he might be sent for back, and made Dictatour: *Pompey* explained himself very modestly upon the matter; and when the business was mentioned to him, onely said, that it was his opinion the Republick stood in need of the Authority of some wise and moderate Man. And such an Authority appeared indeed the more necessary upon the death of *Clodius*, which happened too at the same time; which, as it is a matter has been variously reported, and which *Cicero* has endeavour'd to disguise,

with all the arts of his Eloquence, we ſhall here give ſuch an account of, as ſeems to come impartially neareſt the truth. *Milo* pretended to the Conſulſhip, and *Clodius* to be made Pretor, at the ſame time; and as they were two Men, whoſe Intereſts were Incompatible, they always ſought, by the beſt means they could invent, or lay hold on, to ruine one another. *Milo* was to take a Journey to * *Lavinium*, where he was Dictatour, and he departed from *Rome* in his Chariot, with his Wife and Family, but well guarded by a great number of his ſlaves. In his way, he was to paſs by a Countrey-houſe that belonged to *Clodius*; near this houſe they both met *Clodius* on horſeback and well attended. The Quarrel was begun on both ſides by the ſlaves, who, having exchanged ſeveral blows with each other. *Milo* alighted out of his Chariot, and with his Sword in his hand defended himſelf vigorouſly; *Clodius* in the ſcuffle received a wound upon his head, which brought him to the ground. He was quickly taken up by his ſlaves, and carried into his houſe, whither *Milo* followed him: *Appian* ſays, it was to excuſe himſelf to him, but that were ridiculous to believe, conſidering the violent hatred that had long been between them; it may be more reaſonably conjectured, that it was to ſatisfie himſelf of the condition of his wounds, or to give him more if he thought them not enough: In concluſion, when he found him expiring, he went back to *Rome*, to prevent what might be aggravated

* *A little Town not far from* Rome.

gravated to his prejudice. The People all entertained the news with unexpreſſible ſorrow, for *Clodius* was extremely beloved by them. So that when his Brother *Appius* cauſed his Body to be brought to *Rome*, and * *Rufus* and † *Plancus*, the Tribunes, expoſed it all bloudy, as it was in the publick place, there aroſe an implacable Mutiny; They ran to *Milo*'s houſe to ſet it on fire, but he repulſed and killed ſeveral of the Aſſailants; the reſt returned back to the place, where they pulled to pieces all the Seats of the Magiſtrates, made a * Funeral Pile of them, and ſet fire to it with ſo much fury, that all that ſtately building where the Senate uſed to aſſemble, was burned with the Body of *Clodius*; after this the Mutineers diſperſed themſelves all over the City, where, under pretence of ſearching for the Friends of *Milo*, they committed the moſt inſupportable Violences. *Milo* behaved himſelf in all this affair with his uſual fierceneſs. He ſent for a great number of his ſlaves out of the Countrey for the Guard of his Perſon, and had the boldneſs to offer himſelf to the People to be Judged. *Cæcilius* the Tribune, by conſent, was to be his Accuſer, and he had well aſſured himſelf of his Judges. But the People, more tranſported than ever, fell upon the followers of *Milo*, who had much adoe to ſave himſelf, with *Cæcilius*, and Murthers were renew'd again all over the City.

* Vibullius.
† Munatius.

* *The* Romans, *ſince the time of* Sylla, *burned the Bodies of their Dead, inſtead of Burying them.*

CHAP. XI.

Pompey *ſole Conſul. Cæſar ſecures himſelf of the favour of the* Roman *People.*

THeſe things happened under the Conſulſhip of * *Domitius Calvinus*, and *Valerius Meſſala*. For *Pompey* perceiving the name of Dictatour to be very odious, had cauſed them two to be choſen, and fortifi'd himſelf with that Authority which the Senate had given him, to defend the Magiſtrates and their Judgments with Troops allotted him for that purpoſe; Nevertheleſs this appeaſed not the publick diſorders. † *Scipio*, *Hypſæus* and *Milo*, pretended all at the ſame time to the Conſulſhip, and carried on their reſpective Intereſts with a ſtrong hand; ſo that there was every day to be ſeen three Armies upon the place: *Milo*, whoſe violent proceeding had accumulated to him the publick hatred, was, at laſt, accuſed by *Appius*; and although *Cicero* himſelf undertook to defend him, his fear of *Pompey*'s Souldiers, who ſurrounded him as he was pleading, put him out of his Oration: And the Inſolence of *Milo*, who came before the Judges with a face full of Threatnings and Menaces, cauſed him to be condemned; ſo he was Baniſh'd: and when *Cicero* afterwards ſent him that Diſcourſe of his, which we now have amongſt us, and which paſſes for the choiceſt of his Works: his Anſwer was, *That it was happy for*

* *In the year of* Rome 701, *there were two Families which bore the Name of* Domitius; *one ſirnamed* Enobarbus, *and the other* Calvinus.

† Cornelius.

for him that Cicero *was out in his harangue, for that he had not elſe fared ſo well at* Marſeiles, for that was the place of his Exile. Now the Friends of *Pompey* took upon them afreſh to ſolicite his pretenſions; And thoſe neceſſities which the State of the Common-wealth then lay under, appeared no ſmall argument for him with the Senate; but the name of a Dictatour would not be heard of: So that *Cato* thought fit to propoſe an expedient, which was, That the power of a Dictatour might be conferred upon him, but under ſome gentler Title; ſo *Pompey* was declared ſole Conſul: New Troops were allotted him, and a Thouſand Talents yearly for the maintenance of them; the Government of *Spain* was continued to him for four years longer, and he ſent Deputies thither to Rule in his ſtead. He ſtrengthned himſelf too with the Illuſtrious Alliance of the Houſe of *Scipio*, by Marrying *Cornelia*, a Lady of no leſs Accompliſhments than Beauty; ſhe underſtood, even to excellent performance, all manner of Muſick; nor was a ſtranger to Learning and Philoſophy, being Miſtreſs of Geometry, and the other parts of the Mathematicks; and all this too without the leaſt Impertinence, or Womaniſh affectation. So that *Pompey* thought he had nothing now more to be afraid of, and that it would be henceforth an eaſie work to overthrow the Fortunes of *Cæſar*; who, on his ſide, was by no means negligent of what ſo nearly concerned him. Some Tribunes of the People had propoſed, the cauſing of him

to be elected Conſul with *Pompey*; but he deſired them, by Letters, to reſerve their good Inclinations of that kind for a deſign he had to demand a ſecond Conſulſhip, when the employ he was at preſent in ſhould be expired. In the mean time, to gain the good will of the People, he cauſed a new Market to be ſet up at *Rome*, the place whereof coſt him a Hundred thouſand Seſterces: He gave alſo to the *Romans* certain Plays, and a Publick Feaſt, in acknowledgment of the Honours they had done to his Daughter *Julia*. He deſired the Knights, and ſuch of the Senatours as were his Friends, that they themſelves would Exerciſe and Inſtruct the Gladiatours, and ſent them Rules and Directions accordingly. Giving order at the ſame time, that thoſe Gladiatours, who pleaſed not the People in their Combats, ſhould be turned out, and others, more agreeable, put in their places: The Grandeur of his Mein, his extraordinary Generoſity, and the greatneſs of his Actions, had entirely engaged to him the affections of his Souldiers, who all loved him, even to adoration; he cauſed their Pay to be doubled, and the Corn which uſed to be diſtributed among the Troops, by regulated proportions, was now given to them without ſtint or meaſure. Again, on the other ſide, a great many of the Senatours ſtood obliged to him for conſiderable Sums of Money, which he had lent them without any Intereſt; he entertained, with Magnificence, all ſuch as ſerved under him, even to thoſe

ſlaves

ſlaves whom he loved: and his Army was a perfect refuge to all manner of Criminals, and ſuch as were burthened with Debts, a great many whereof he diſcharged at his own proper expence; but to thoſe who ſtood engaged for mighty ſums indeed, he uſed to ſay, That one Civil War would make all even. In a word, all ſtranger Princes, and the beſt Cities taſted of his Munificence by conſiderable Preſents. And all this done at the expence of the *Gauls*. So that it was not improperly obſerved by one, who ſaid, That *Cæſar* conquer'd the *Gauls* with the *Roman* Steel, and the *Romans* with the *Gallick* Gold. *Pompey*'s Friends, to be ſure, were not now backward to make their reflexions upon the occaſion of theſe Liberalities, and to exaggerate the danger that might thence threaten the Commonwealth. Nevertheleſs, *Cæſar* reſolved once more to try, if it were poſſible, to preſerve the Friendſhip of *Pompey*, and before his laſt Marriage offered him his Neice *Octavia*, and demanded *Pompey*'s Daughter for himſelf, but *Pompey* thought fitting to make choice of an Alliance with *Scipio*, whom he cauſed afterwards to be joined with him in the Conſular dignity for the laſt five Months; and as he very well knew that *Cæſar* was beloved by the People, his buſineſs was to eſtabliſh his Intereſt among the Senatours. Theſe two Factions have been always oppoſite, under the Title of the Nobility and the Populace; And their diviſion had produced very terrible effects,

fects, especially in the Sedition of the Gracchi, and afterwards in the Wars between * *Marius* and † *Sylla*: The People usually prevailed by their Numbers, but the Senate by their Authority; and it is, without doubt, that Union of *Pompey* with the Senate, which has caused *Cæsar*'s Party to be so much decry'd; and the advantages of *Pompey*, in all Writings, to be celebrated with so much Passion; that, under the Reign of one of the most terrible of *Cæsar*'s * Successours, there lived an † Authour, who durst publish a Work, which we have now amongst us, wherein he has most barbarously violated the memory of that Great Man.

* Cajus.
† Cornelius.

* Nero.
† Lucan.

CHAP. XII.

CHAP. XII.

Pompey's *Laws.* Curio *goes over to* Cæsar's *Interest.*

THE first appearance of Division began from *Pompey*, by the two Laws which he publisht during his Consulship, the first whereof was for an enquiry into the miscarriages of Officers in the executing their Charges, for the twenty years last past, that is, from his first Consulship, down to that which he then held. Hereupon *Cæsar*'s Friends remonstrated that a Law of that kind might be injurious to several illustrious Men; and more particularly to *Cæsar*, who had within that time been Consul. At that name he cryed out that it was shamefull for them to imagine that such an Ordinance could in any manner have regard to a man of *Cæsar*'s Merits and Vertue, and that his Friends did him the greatest injury to suspect it, so that no alteration of that Law could be admitted, and many persons were condemned upon it, amongst the rest, *Hypseus*, *Memmius*, *Sextus*, and *Gabinius* himself: yet afterwards when *Memmius* in his turn accused *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s Brother-in-Law, *Pompey* was not ashamed himself openly to appear against that very Law of his own making to bring off *Scipio* by his Authority. The other Law of *Pompey*, or rather an Article of the Precedent was, That no man being

being abſent, ſhould be admitted to demand any Employment, theſe Laws being approved of, were forthwith engraved upon Copper Tables, and carried to the publick Treaſury, after which formality, no change or alteration in them was to be admitted; *Pompey* was for an exception in favour of *Cæſar*, but in regard that it was contrary to Form. *Marcus Marcellus*, who had ſucceeded *Pompey* in his Conſulſhip, no way reſpecting any ſuch exception, after giving notice that he had matters to communicate of the higheſt importance, propoſed, that ſince the Conqueſt of *Gaul* was now completed, ſome body might be ſent to ſucceed *Cæſar*, and at the ſame time that he might be excluded from demanding the Conſulſhip; This Declaration allarum'd all *Cæſar*'s Friends; *Servius Sulpitius* the other Conſul, declared himſelf of the contrary Opinion, and the Tribunes *Caius Cælius*, and *Vibius Panſa* oppoſed the Decree. *Pompey* too was at a loſs how to diſtinguiſh handſomely upon this Subject. He ſaid indeed it was great Injury to *Cæſar* to propoſe a thing of that Nature, at leaſt before the Kalends of *March*, ſince till that time came his Government of *Gaul* was not expired, upon which, when it was asked of him what was to be done, if they met with oppoſition, it ſignifies nothing ſays he, whether or no *Cæſar* obey the Decrees of the Senate, ſince he will find thoſe that ſhall oppoſe him; but it was anſwered again, if he will be Conſul, if he

will

will keep his Army? To which *Pompey* reply'd, If my Son ſhould provoke and rebell againſt me, what would you adviſe me to? This diſcourſe ſufficiently diſcovered how *Pompey* ſtood affected as to *Cæſar*'s Intereſt: For all this, matters were managed with all Artfull and fair Conduct and Intrigue, till the Election of the new Conſuls, who were *Emilius Paulus*, and *Calidius Marcellus*, a Kinſman of *Marcus*. This affair at that time wholly employed the Senate, and ſtopt the courſe of any other buſineſs. Every one expected with impatience how the two Conſuls would declare themſelves; the firſt had been pretty well ſecured by a Preſent from *Cæſar* of fifteen Talents, with which he built himſelf a ſumptuous Palace, and called it after his own Name, but *Callidius* was *Cæſar*'s Enemy, and being carried on by the ſame Spirit with his Kinſman *Marcus*, followed alſo his Methods, and renewed the old Propoſitions. We have already taken frequent occaſion to mention the privileges of the Tribunes of the People, who were ten, *Curio* and *Marcus Anthonius* were of the number for this year. *Curio* was in great eſteem both for his Quality and his Abilities, being one of the ableſt men which *Rome* could at that time boaſt of for Eloquence and Pleadings at the Bar, he had great Parts and equal reſolution, but ſtood charged with abundance of Debts, both in his own Name, and for many of his Friends, among the reſt for *Anthony*, for whom he had

had entered into Securities. He had been one of the most violent against *Cæsar*'s Interest: But *Cæsar*, who knew well enough where his shoe wrung him, quickly found the way to give him ease, and bring him over by furnishing him with means to quit himself of those encumbrances. *Curio* afterwards made use of a management that was very refined, forbearing to declare himself of *Cæsar*'s Party, that he might the better enter into the Counsels and Designs of his Enemies, and after that, he sought an opportunity to break with *Pompey*. For this Design he demanded that the charge of overseeing the reparation of the High-ways, might be conferred upon him, which he at the same time knew well enough would be deny'd, so that upon the refusal of it, he made known his resentment, and afterwards when the Consul made his report to the Senate touching the Governments, he praised his Zeal and his Opinion, adding, that it was but Justice that *Pompey* and *Cæsar* should be called from their Governments both together.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio *declareth himself against* Pompey. Cæsar *returns the Legion that* Pompey *had lent him.*

THE Spirits of this Age were two refined not to apprehend at first sight the meaning of this Proposition. All that were *Pompey*'s Friends began to grow very uneasie to *Curio*. *Appius* one of the Censors, and who had been raised to his Authority by *Pompey*, threatned to expell him the Senate, and proposed it in one of the Assemblies. *Curio* submitted to every thing that might be Decreed particularly against himself, but would abate nothing where *Cæsar*'s Interest seem'd to be struck at, and the Consul *Paulus* withstood the Affront that was like to have been offered him. *Curio* imparted upon this his Proposition to the People, who received it so well, and with such Joy, that they covered him with flowers, and in that manner accompanied him home to his House: He himself afterwards in an Assembly of the People, when they ordered that *Cæsar*, though absent, should have power to demand the Consulship. This obliged *Pompey* to leave *Rome*, under pretence of going to his Government, but he went no farther than to one of his Country houses, where falling sick, he wrote to the Senate that he was ready to give up all his

all his Employments when *Cæsar* would ever consent to part with his, and that he would confirm this upon his return to *Rome*. *Curio* took him at his word, and told him it was his duty to begin what he proposed, and that he would engage on *Cæsar*'s part, that the Example should be followed. The business was then put into debate, but came to no conclusion, onely it was ordained that two Legions should be drawn out of the Troops of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, to go into *Syria* against the *Parthians*, this was onely done to weaken *Cæsar*'s Army, for *Pompey* at the beginning of the War had lent him a Legion of his. *Appius* was sent into *Gaul* to draw out this Legion, and to oblige *Cæsar* to give another of his own, who though he easily discerned the reason of this order, by no means in the least opposed it, but surrendred both the Legions to *Appius*, and at the same time ordered two hundred and fifty Drachma's to be given to every Souldier. *Cicero* at this time came back to *Rome* from his Government of *Cilicia*, where he pretended for his great Exploits to have merited the Honour of Triumph. His absence had hindered him from taking either Party in these differences, and his present Pretensions obliged him to be a Mediatour between both, so he made some Propositions for an Accommodation, but they would not be hearkned to, for that *Appius* was returned, and had published abroad, that *Cæsar* stood very ill in the Opinion of his Army, that he knew little

little or nothing of their Inclinations, and that they would certainly come over to the Senates Party, whenever they recovered this ſide of the *Alpes*. This relation gave *Pompey* great confidence, ſo that he rejected all Projects of the leaſt Accommodation; *Cicero* could not be heard, and when he afterwards asked him what Powers he had wherewith to oppoſe *Cæſar*, *Pompey*'s anſwer was, that he need onely to ſtamp with his foot, and that the Earth would bring him forth an Army. Many of the Senatours began already to talk very meanly of *Cæſar*, and *Cato* himſelf haughtily declared that he would bring him to an account of his Actions, and that he ſhould be treated as *Milo* had been uſed before him.

CHAP. XIV.

Cæsar *sends a letter to the Senate; They declare War against him.* Anthony *and* Curio *the Tribunes of the People go to find out* Cæsar.

Cæsar had written several times to the Senate to beg them, that they would have some regard to the services he had done the Republick: He proposed alternately that he might either be continued in his Government as *Pompey* had been, or that he might be permitted in his absence to demand the Dignity of Consul, and when this Proposition was rejected, he requested again that *Curio*'s expedient might be admitted of; but in these his last Letters he proposed the surrendring up the Government of *Illyria*, with two Legions, which *Cicero* urged afterwards in Argument for a Peace; but as we observed before, his endeavours, became altogether unprofitable, and *Cæsar* upon the news he received of the ill success of his pretensions, repassed the *Alpes* with the third Legion, and marched to *Ravenna*, from thence he sent *Fabius*, one of his Lieutenants, with Letters to the Consuls, who were *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Clodius Marcellus*, newly chosen: *Lentulus* refused to reade his Letters, but *Anthony*, and *Quintus*, *Cassius*, *Longinus*, the Tribunes, obliged them to be read before the Senate; they contained a Catalogue of *Cæsar*'s Services, and an assu-

rance

rance that he would ſend back his Troops when ever *Pompey* ſhould diſarm. *Lentulus* would by no means admit of any deliberation upon theſe Letters, onely told the Senate, that upon condition they themſelves would be vigorous upon this occaſion, he was ready to ſerve the Republick with the utmoſt hazard of his life, but if they ſuffered themſelves to be remiſs and negligent, he knew very well there was another would take party with *Cæſar*. *Scipio* declared at the ſame time that *Pompey* was ready to Sacrifice himſelf for the intereſts of the Senate, if they would ſtand by him, but if they once appeared to be ſlow or irreſolute in their deliberations, it would after that be vain to expect any aſſiſtence from him. And though *Pompey* were at this time not in *Rome*, in regard thoſe who had Military Commands, were not admitted to ſtay in the Town, *Cæſar* ſaid, That conſidering *Scipio* was his Brother-in-Law, and altogether in his intereſts; This advice ſeemed to come out of *Pompey*'s own mouth. Some other of the Senatours made a more favourable Conſtruction, among the reſt, *Marcus Marcellus*, *Sulpitius Rufus*, and *Calidius* himſelf, who was of Opinion that *Pompey* ought to go to his Government, for the taking away all pretence from *Cæſar*, to believe that thoſe two Legions retained at *Rome*, were deſigned to prejudice him. *Lentulus* refuſed to make a report of this Opinion, and exclaimed againſt *Calidius* and the reſt. In fine,

a Decree was formed upon the advice of *Scipio* in theſe Terms; That *Cæſar* ſhould diſmiſs his Troops within a certain time; and that if he refuſed Obedience, he ſhould be declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth. *Anthony* and *Caſſius* oppoſed this Decree, by that means raiſing freſh debates, which were managed with a great deal of ſharpneſs, ſo that the Aſſembly did not ſeparate untill it was very late. The night was employed in *Pompey*'s private management amongſt his Friends, and *Curio*'s among the other Tribunes. The next day *Piſo* the Cenſor, and *Roſcius* the Pretor, demanded five days time to go to find out *Cæſar*, and give him an account of the ſtate of theſe matters, which was refuſed them. *Lentulus* commanding the Tribunes to depart the Senate, ſo that a Decree was publiſhed, which never was uſual, but in caſes of the utmoſt extremity, that the Conſuls and other Magiſtrates ſhould take care that the Republick came to no damage; in purſuance whereof, *Marcellus* the other Conſul took a Sword, which he carry'd publickly to *Pompey*, who was then out of Town, accoſting him in theſe Terms, I command you in the name of the Senate, that you aſſiſt the Republick with the Troops now under your command, and ſpeedily levy more. From this moment there was a Succeſſour ordered to *Cæſar*, which was *Domitius*, deſigned Conſul for the year following. All his Governments were diſpoſed of, whereof *Scipio* had

Syria,

Syria, and every body took arms in *Rome*, and appeared in a habit of War. *Ceſar* failed not of a ſpeedy account of this from *Curio*, *Anthony* and *Longinus*, who retreated to him diſguiſed in the habits of their Slaves, in which condition he ſhewed them to his Army, and took that occaſion which the indiſcretion of his Enemies preſented him withal, to make appear the Injuſtice and Violence of their Proceedings: *Ye ſee*, ſaid he, *theſe Sacred Perſons forced to conceal themſelves in the habit of Slavery, to ſhun the fury of my Enemies, and all for maintaining thoſe Privileges which the Laws allowed them, and which* Sylla *himſelf, who ſpared nothing elſe, never durſt Violate: But now* Pompey, *who boaſts himſelf to have re-eſtabliſhed theſe Privileges, has deprived theſe Men of them, and ſo much the more unjuſtly, and ungratefully, ſince it was for their ſupporting of my Intereſt, who have always been true to his, though he does not this of his own inclination, but it may be eaſily ſeen is driven to it by malice of my Enemies.* Adding moreover, That their violence appeared ſufficiently by that Decree which was never heard of, but when the Commonwealth was in open danger from the fury of the Tribunes, or the Seditions of the multitude, which did not any ways appear at this time. In fine, tearing his Robe, and falling even into tears, he conjured all his Souldiers that they would defend his Honour and his Reputation, after having ſerved nine years under

der his Command with ſo much glory and ſucceſs. The Souldiers with loud cries anſwered him, That they were ready to revenge the Injuries done to their General, and to the Tribunes.

CHAP. XV.

The paſſage of the Rubicon, *and the taking of* Rimini.

AMongſt the many Warlike Qualities of *Cæſar*, his diligence to prevent an Enemy, and purſue a Victory, was the moſt admirable; he had often ſurpriſed others, but was never known to have been ſurpriſed himſelf. He never carried a Victory, but he made himſelf Maſter of the Enemies Camp, he knew well how neceſſary, and of what importance ſuch a diligence at this time was. And what impreſſions firſt Exploits make towards the Reputation of any Party. And to add moreover a ſecret upon this occaſion, he ſent ſome Centurions, and choſen Men armed with Swords, onely to to put themſelves as ſecretly as poſſible into *Rimini*, which was the chief Town on that ſide of his Government. For himſelf, he ſpent the days in ſeeing publick Plays, and the Combat of the Gladiatours at *Ravenna*, and when night came, ſate himſelf at Table amongſt

amongſt his Friends, but ſoon roſe up again, and deſiring his Friends to make themſelves welcome, told them, he would return in a moment, but that was the leaſt of his Deſigns, for he had ordered ſome Mules to be taken out of a Neighbouring Mill, and put into his Chariot, in which Equipage he ſet forwards towards *Rimini*, with ſome few of his particular Friends whom he had made privy to his Intention, and one Troop of Souldiers; it was a troubleſome Journey, but they reſolv'd to undergoe it, ſo that ſometimes on foot, and ſometimes in his Chariot, *Cæſar* arrived upon the Banks of *Rubicon*, which is a little River ſeparating the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, from the reſt of *Italy*. In this place all the misfortunes of that War which he was going to undertake, preſented themſelves to his mind. Sometimes he had thoughts of going back again, and turning himſelf to *Aſinius Pollio*; We have now, ſays he, in our Power to return, but if we paſs the River, our onely retreat muſt be to our Arms. Some Authours, and amongſt the reſt, *Suetonius* himſelf gives an account of a Miracle which happened to him upon this Occaſion, perhaps they have done it onely more particularly to ſignalize that famous paſſage of the *Rubicon*, by ſomething extraordinary, but however it might be, it will not be here improper to recount it. Not far from the place where he ſtood, there appeared all of a ſudden a man of an extraordinary ſtature, who made very good Muſick

with a certain Flute or Reed which he plaid upon; The Novelty of the sight drew together a great many of the Souldiers, and among the rest a Trumpet that belonged to *Cæsar*, so soon as they came near to the man, he snatched away the Trumpet, and sounding a Charge, threw himself into the water, and went over to the other side; no mention is made what became of him, onely that *Cæsar* without farther consideration passed the River, crying out aloud, *Let us go where the Gods so remarkably call, and where the fury of our Enemies drives us, the Lot is cast.* From thence, without making the least stay, he marched directly up to *Rimini*, and possessed himself of it without any resistence, so with six thousand men onely he began that famous War. And after having secured himself of that place of Importance, sent orders to his Troops to follow with all diligence.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The amazement of the Senatours: They leave Rome, *and retire to* Capua.

THIS ſudden and unexpected enterpriſe gave moſt terrible apprehenſions to the City of *Rome*. They believed already that *Cæſar* was at their Gates with all his Army, and it was an odd confuſion to ſee the Countrey People come for ſafeguard into the City, and at the ſame time the Citizens flying into the Countrey, no body knew which ſide to take; and *Cicero* himſelf began to believe that *Pompey* had not made the leaſt preparations, that he was not in any condition to make head againſt *Cæſar*, and that he had neither Troops, nor place of retreat. For *Cicero* found himſelf under as difficult circumſtances as any body, and his uneaſineſs appeared in all the Epiſtles which he wrote upon this Occaſion, *If I ſhould ſtay*, (ſays he, in one of them,) *I know not here whom I ought to be moſt aſhamed to accompany*, Lepidus, Volcatius *or* Sulpitius, *neither of theſe but is as ſilly as* Domitius, *and as inconſtant as* Appius, *but* Pompey *engages me by the obligations which I owe him, and not by his Authority; for what Authority can a man deſerve, who could honour* Cæſar *in the higheſt degree, after we were all afraid of him, and who believes now, when he begins to fear him, that all the world*

world ought to declare againſt him? Thus in few words *Cicero* gave a deſcription of *Pompey* and his Party, in the mean while making his intereſt with *Cæſar*, by the means of *Dolabella* and *Cælius*, and other of his Friends, to which purpoſe *Cælius* in one of his letters to him (wherein he ſhews himſelf a man of very pleaſant obſervation) adviſes him this for a Maxime, *That in the Diviſions of a Government, while the matter is diſputed by words onely, every man ought to eſpouſe that Party which he thinks is the juſteſt; but when once it comes to Arms, to join evermore with the ſtrongeſt, and to believe that he who has the beſt Sword, has the beſt Cauſe.* *Pompey* underwent no ſmall regret and diſcontentment during this Perplexity: His whole Party reproached him that he had deceived them, demanding of him where his Troops were, and *Favonius*, who was grown crack-brained with Philoſophical Projects, and pretending to imitate *Cato*, told him, That it was now high time for him to ſtamp upon the Earth with his foot, and bring forth the Souldiers which he had promiſed them. At the laſt *Pompey* was forced to tell them that they ſhould not want Souldiers, if they would but follow him and quit *Rome*, or indeed *Italy*, which they were not able to defend, that it was neither their Houſes nor their Provinces that could inſpire them with the love of Vertue and of Liberty. But that Men of Honour would find it in all Retreats, and

that

that to unite themſelves, was the way to put them into a condition of returning back again to their Houſes with Glory. This diſcourſe, and the affection which they bore to *Pompey*, made them reſolve at laſt to quit the City, for though they blamed his Conduct, they knew not how to hate him, ſo the Conſuls, and almoſt all the Senate followed him to *Capua*, where were the two Legions which *Cæſar* had ſent from *Gaul*. The behaviour of *Labienus* contributed at this time much to their aſſurance. This Man was one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, had ſerved in *Gaul* with a great deal of Reputation, and was therefore well eſteemed by *Cæſar*, but afterwards, when his Services, and the Riches he had gotten in them, began to make him vain, *Cæſar* thought fit to let him ſee he would be his General, and not yet his Companion; this cauſed *Labienus* to change his Party, and his deſerting made indeed a great ſhew, but produced very little advantage. No brave Man thought the better of him for it, and from that time he performed nothing that was conſiderable, and though the Example might have been of dangerous Conſequence in the beginning of a War of that Nature, yet *Cæſar* either through his Wiſdom, or the greatneſs of his Mind, ſeemed little to value or take notice of it, for he ſent *Labienus* all his Money after him, and all his Equipage. From this time *Pompey* apply'd himſelf to take care of his buſineſs, and put his affairs in ſome order,

[*Pollentia.* der, and resolved to retire into * *Pouille.* He left *Lucius Domitius* in *Corfinium*, and *Cicero* to command in *Capua*, who received the Commission with some reluctancy, but as he had left him neither Men nor Money, he apprehended that that employment would not much injure his good Correspondence with *Cæsar.*

CHAP. XVII.

Some Propositions of Peace between Cæsar *and* Pompey, *but without any success.*

CÆsar was still at *Rimini*, where *Lucius Cæsar* his Kinsman, and whose Father served at that time in his Army, came with *Roscius* to find him out. After some discourses about other Affairs, *Lucius* told *Cæsar* that *Pompey* had Commanded him to wait upon him, and to beg of him that he would doe him Justice, in regard of what had passed between them, that he should think himself very unhappy, if it were possible for *Cæsar* to think himself injured by him, in what he had done onely in consideration of the Commonwealth; that it had always been his Maxime to prefer the Publick Good before his own particular Interests, and that it would equally redound to *Cæsar*'s Glory also to sacrifice his resentments to the repose of his Countrey, and not to drive things so far

far as by endeavouring to revenge himself upon his Enemies to give a wound to the Commonwealth. *Roscius* too entertained him with discourse much to this purpose: but these Civilities which were indeed but merely such, and from the Teeth outward, were of no great weight with *Cæsar*; nevertheless he resolved upon the dismissing of these Gentlemen, to give them some taste of his sentiments, so he told them, That since they came in that manner Commissionated from *Pompey*, it was his desire that they would charge themselves back again with some Propositions on his part, especially if they desired to appease the present Troubles, and quiet the fears of *Italy*. That he had evermore less considered his life than the honour and welfare of the Commonwealth, but that he could not without extreme grief of mind see that his Enemies would take from him those favours which the People of *Rome* thought fit to have allowed him, that they would cut off six months from the time of his Government, to force him to *Rome* in spight of the will of the People, who had ordained, That although he were absent, he should be considered as if he were actually present in the Assemblies for the Election of Consuls, that he had nevertheless been content to put up that injury for the sake of the publick Peace. That he had desired by his Letters that all the Generals might quit their Armies at once, but by no means possible could obtain it.

But

But that on the contrary Troops were levied throughout all *Italy*. That they had retained the two Legions which were taken from him, under a false pretence of going against the *Parthians*, and the whole City was up in Arms, and therefore to what purpose was all this designed, except for his ruine? that for all this he was disposed to reduce himself to the last extremities, and suffer every thing for the sake of the Republick; That *Pompey* should retire to his Government, that the Senatours should discharge their Troops, and that every one should lay down his Arms throughout all *Italy*, that *Rome* should be no more held in Awe, but the Assemblies be left to their Ancient Liberty. In short, that the full Authority of the Senate, and the People of *Rome* should be restored. To this discourse *Cæsar* added, that matters might be determined better by an enterview between him and *Pompey*, whereby they might agree upon a method of putting this in Practice, and take mutual Oaths of assurance from each other. *Roscius* and *Lucius* returned back to *Capua* with these Propositions, and made report of them to the Consuls, and to *Pompey*. They deliberated upon the matter, and wrote back their answer in these Terms, That *Cæsar* should return into *Gaul*, that he should abandon *Rimini*, after which, *Pompey* should depart for *Spain*, that in the mean while they would continue their Levies till *Cæsar* gave them assurances that this should be performed with all sincerity. CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The progreſs of Cæſar. *He ſeizes upon the March of* Ancona. *The ſiege of* Corfinium.

IT was not a deſire of Peace which carried on this Correſpondence, matters were too far engaged, and the Enmity too openly declared to leave any room for a ſincere Accommodation. *Pompey*'s buſineſs was but to gain time, and had great relyance upon the aſſiſtence of the Forces of the Eaſt, which were abſolutely in his intereſt. *Cæſar* too depending upon the valour and affections of his Souldiers had no deſign of quitting his Arms, but onely to make it appear as fairly as he could, that he had taken them up with Juſtice. His Propoſitions being but as ſo many Manifeſto's or Remonſtrances, for as a Politician of thoſe times obſerved, they might eaſily have come to an agreement, but that was none of their buſineſs, for they both aimed at the Government. *Cæſar* found he had no reaſon to obey the Senate, who would have obliged him to retire, and leave a good Garriſon, and diſband his Troops, ſo long as *Pompey* continued in Arms, and making new Levies. without any certain day fixt for his departure into *Spain*; wherefore without looſing more time, he reſolved upon action, and to that purpoſe ſent *Anthony* to * *Arezzo* with five Cohorts to make new Levies. In the mean

* Aretium.

mean time he ſeized upon *Piſaura*, and *Fano*, and *Ancona*, and upon advice received, that *Thermus* the Pretor was at *Fermo* with five Cohorts belonging to *Pompey*, he ſent *Curio* thither with three of his, upon whoſe arrival the Inhabitants revolted, and obliged *Thermus* to depart, whoſe Troops deſerted him. In fine, all the * March of *Ancona* ſubmitted voluntarily to *Cæſar*: This Progreſs of his redoubled the fears at *Rome*, whither *Lentulus* was come back to ſeize upon the publick Treaſures, but upon the report that *Cæſar* was coming, left the Treaſury open, and with *Marcellus* and ſeveral others, betook himſelf to flight. In the mean time the twelfth Legion came to join *Cæſar*, who marched to † *Aſcoli*, which *Lentulus* had poſſeſſed himſelf of with ten Cohorts, he ſtaid not there for *Cæſar*'s coming, but retreated in confuſion, a great part of his Souldiers deſerting him alſo, the reſt joined with *Vibullius Rufus*, who was at that time too raiſing new recruits, whereof he compoſed ten Cohorts, and went to *Corfinium* to find out *Domitius Ænobarſus*, of whom *Cicero* makes mention, and who was deſigned to have ſucceeded *Cæſar*. This man was of an illuſtrious Family, though but of the order of the People, but the Merits of his Anceſtours had raiſed them to the dignity of *Patricians*, he was of a fantaſtical inconſtant ſpirit, with a fiery and barbarous humour much like that of *Nero* after him, whoſe great great Grandfather he was,

*Picenum.

† Aſcaſum.

was. He had with him twenty Cohorts of new raiſed Troops in *Corfinium*, beſides, the twelve that belonged to *Rufus*, with theſe Forces he reſolved to expect *Cæſar*. Now as that place was the firſt that durſt undertake to make head againſt *Cæſar*, every body expected with impatience what would be the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. *Cæſar* made his approaches with two Legions, and was engaged by five Cohorts, who defended a Bridge about three miles from the City. They were driven back even to the Gates of *Corfinium*, which thereupon was immediately inveſted. *Domitius* prepared himſelf for a vigorous defence, and wrote word to *Pompey*, That there was now a fair opportunity to hem in *Cæſar*, if he would but come up, that it would not be for his Reputation to abandon thirty Cohorts, beſides a great many Senatours and Knights of *Rome*; *Pompey*'s anſwer was, That he was not then in a condition to ſet the Forces of the Commonwealth, upon the hazard of a Battel that *Domitius* had engaged himſelf in *Corfinium*, abſolutely contrary to his Opinion, and that he ought to think of making as fair and ſpeedy a retreat as was poſſible, and come to join himſelf with the Conſuls and the reſt of the Senate. It was upon this refuſal that *Cicero* became ſo tranſported againſt *Pompey*; in one of his Epiſtles to *Atticus*. *I ſhould have believed* (ſaid he) *that* Pompey *would have had more regard to his Reputation; He himſelf has nouriſhed and made*

Cæsar *great, and now all of a sudden is grown afraid of him. He will hearken to no Propositions of Peace, and yet is in no preparation for War. He has lost the March of* Ancona *by his own fault, has put himself into* * Povilla, *and would go into* Greece *without thinking fitting to make us in the least acquainted with his Designs. In short,* Domitius *presses him for relief, and represents to him how much his Glory is concerned in it, but* Pompey *renounces his Glory, and retires to* Brundusium.

* Pollentia.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The taking of Corfinium. Cæſar *gives* Domitius *and the other Senatours their liberty; He writes to* Cicero.

Domitius thought it his wiſeſt way to conceal this anſwer which he received from *Pompey*, and ſaid, that the General was upon his march to relieve them, in the mean time contriving with the truſtieſt of his Friends how to make a private retreat. The ſecret could not be ſo nicely managed, but that his very face and all his Actions diſcovered it, ſo that the Souldiers fell to Mutiny, and propoſed ſurrendring to *Cæſar*, who had now recruited his Army with the ninth Legion, and two and twenty Cohorts raiſed in *Gaul*, beſides three hundred German Horſe which a certain Petty King towards the ſide of *Bavaria* had ſent him. *Cæſar* preſſed the place with thoſe Troops he had put under the command of *Curio*, ſo that no means of retreat being left, the Souldiers ſecured *Domitius*, and ſent Deputies to *Cæſar* to certifie him, That they were ready to open the Gates to him and ſurrender. This happened at the beginning of the night, ſo that *Cæſar* would not make his entry at that time, fearing leſt in the dark his Souldiers might be tempted to commit diſorders, and pillage the City; Wherefore he onely cauſed his Guards to be doubled,

and kept his Army at their Arms all night. At break of day *Lentulus* called from the Rampart to one of *Cæsar*'s advanced Sentinels, and demanded of him if he might have security to come and see *Cæsar*. *Cæsar* had notice of it, and sent him his Parole; *Lentulus* presently came forth conducted by *Domitius* his Souldiers to the presence of *Cæsar*. He began his discourse with praying *Cæsar* to forgive him, in respect of their ancient Friendship, and afterwards enlarged himself upon the favours *Cæsar* had done him; That he was indebted to him for all the Honours he enjoyed in the dignity of *Pontifex*, in the Government of *Spain*, in the Consulship. Here *Cæsar* interrupted him, saying, That he was not come from *Gaul* to offend any body but onely to defend himself against the outrages of his Enemies, to restore the Honour of the Tribunes who had been ignominiously banished, and to recover his own Liberty with that of the People of *Rome*, whom a Cabal of ill designing men had now enslaved.

Lentulus taking heart at this discourse, desired of him the liberty to return into the Town, saying, That the favour which *Cæsar* had shewn him would be a great motive towards the assuring of the others, many whereof had taken desperate resolutions against their own lives, meaning by this *Domitius*, who by a certain return of tenderness which Nature has for life, was now seeking for remedy against some Poison which

which he imagined he had taken, though he had no great need of it, for his Physician, had onely given him a Vomit, which had its usual operation. *Cæsar* ordered all the Senatours, and the other Noble Romans that were there, to come forth of the Town, as *Domitius*, *Lentulus*, *Spinther*, *Vibullius*, *Rufus*, *Quintillius Varus*, and *Lucius Rubrius*, together with the Sons of *Domitius*, besides a great many young Gentlemen and Roman Knights. He forbad his Souldiers offering of them the least affront even in speech, and after having told them in a few words, that he never had till now great reason to value himself upon their acknowledgment of any obligations that they owed him, he gave them all their liberty to go where they pleased; and to shew that he as little valued the Money, as the lives of his Enemies, he restored to *Domitius* six thousand Sesterces, which he had deposited in the Bank of *Corfinium*, though he could not be ignorant that it was the publick stock. As this action was diversly interpreted, *Cæsar* thought himself obliged to give some account of his reasons for it in a letter which he wrote to *Cicero* upon some praises he had given him for the business of *Corfinium*. The letter was in these Terms.

Cæſar the Emperour to *Cicero* the Emperour.

I Am now aſſured that you know me, ſince you appear to be ſatisfied that nothing is ſo far from my nature as Cruelty; I have ſought nothing in this proceeding but my own particular ſatisfaction, but at preſent I am proud to find that it deſerves your Approbation, and I am no longer troubled to ſee that thoſe whom I have ſpared, ſhould be returned with my Enemies to fight again againſt me, ſince I wiſh no greater advantage than to let them know that they will be always like themſelves, and I too will as little alter.

The name of Emperour was at this time no other than a Title of Honour which the Souldiers gave their Generals, after ſome great Victory, *Cæſar* (the world knew) had well deſerved it; *Cicero* had gotten it by ſome little exploits of his done in his Government of *Cilicia*, and it was onely to flatter him, that *Cæſar* gave it him in this Letter, wherein he mentions *Domitius*, *Rufus* and *Varus*, for that they made ſo ungratefull uſe of the liberty he had given them; for *Domitius* went to *Marſeilles* to ſeduce that City from *Cæſar*'s Intereſt, *Rufus* into *Spain*, and *Varus* into *Africk* upon the ſame deſign,

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

New Propoſitions for Peace. Cæſar *beſieges* Pompey *in* Brunduſium. Pompey *retires by Sea.*

Domitius his Souldiers went all over to *Cæſar*'s ſide, but as he could put no great confidence in them, he ſent them into *Sicily*, and began to march with his whole Army, which conſiſted of four Veteran, and two new raiſed Legions. All the Towns opened him their Gates, and their Governours fled, being ſeveral of them deſerted by their Souldiers who came over to *Cæſar*. *Pompey* himſelf did not think fit to ſtay for him, but retreated to *Brunduſium*, where the Conſuls immediately embarked to go to **Durazzo* with thirty Cohorts. *Pompey* remaining in the Town with twenty others; *Cæſar* ſoon after arrived, but e'er he began to make any Attack, reſolved once more to endeavour an Accommodation: He had taken one *Magius* an Engineer, belonging to *Pompey*, and ſet him at liberty, with orders to tell his General, That it might be for the common intereſt of them both, as well as the good of the Republick, that they two might have a Meeting, and that they might more fairly and eaſily hand to hand come to an agreement, than by the means of any third Perſon: *Magius* brought him no anſwer back again, which obliged *Cæſar* uncertain

* Dyrachium.

certain of the deſigns of *Pompey*, to endeavour the blocking up the entry of the Port of *Brunduſium*. To this purpoſe he cauſed a Bank or dam to be raiſed on each ſide of the Port where it was narroweſt, and they could find ground, and where no bottom could be reached, he cauſed two Veſſels to be faſtened together thirty foot ſquare every way, and made them to advance over againſt the entry of the Haven; they were moored with four Anchors, one at every Corner, and to theſe were joined two other Veſſels of the ſame bulk, with deſign to form a ſort of ſtacade or chain; the firſt bridge of theſe Veſſels was covered with Earth and green Turf, to the end that thoſe who were to defend them might have firm footing to fight upon, and the two ſides were furniſhed with Hurdles in the nature of Parapets, and one of theſe Veſſels carried from ſquare to ſquare, a Tower containing two ſtories for defending of the work from Attacks, and from fire. It was eaſie to judge for what deſign all this pains was undertaken. *Pompey* endeavoured to break it, and to that purpoſe made uſe of ſeveral Merchant Ships of burthen that were in the Haven. He cauſed there to be raiſed Towers of three ſtories high, which he furniſhed with Engines and all ſorts of Darts; with theſe he run againſt *Cæſar*'s Veſſels, hoping thereby to ſeparate them, and hinder the continuation of the work, which occaſioned dayly ſome little skirmiſhes with Darts and Arrows. All this

this time *Cæſar*'s deſign was to ſeek for a Peace, and having received no news of *Mutgius*, cauſed *Caninius* one of his Lieutenants to demand an enterview with *Scribonius Libo* his Friend, and an Officer under *Pompey*. His orders were to exhort *Libo* to Peace, and that the ſureſt way to accompliſh it would be an interview between *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, that *Cæſar* was aſſured matters might by that means be ordered with equal ſatisfaction to both Parties, and that the glory would redound to *Libo*, if by his care and mediation they ſhould come to the laying down of Arms; *Caninius* proceeded according to his Commiſſion, *Libo* made a report of it to *Pompey*, and returning back to his Friend, told him, That the Conſuls being abſent no Propoſitions of that kind could be received. From this time *Cæſar* loſt all hopes of an Accommodation, and ſet his thoughts wholly upon the War, half his buſineſs being already done to his hands, by reaſon the Veſſels which tranſported the Conſuls, and their Troops, were returned from *Durazzo*, which opportunity *Pompey* thought fit to make uſe of for withdrawing himſelf, and to ſecure his retreat he immediately cauſed all the Gates of the City to be walled up, and ſeveral Houſes to be demoliſhed in the Piazza's, and croſs ſtreets. The Avenues of the Port were cut off by certain Pits which were filled with ſtakes, and covered over with Hurdles and Earth, beſides, two which were onely defended with Beams,

and

and Joyſts made very ſharp at the ends, and planted after the manner of Fraize: After theſe Precautions, he cauſed his Souldiers to embark with all ſilence imaginable, leaving onely ſome Archers and Slingers upon the Walls, who had a ſignal given them to retreat, ſo ſoon as his Souldiers ſhould be gotten on Board, for he cauſed ſome Challops, or ſmall Boats to attend them in a convenient place for their Embarkment alſo. The Inhabitants of *Brunduſium* diſſatisfi'd with *Pompey*'s Souldiers, and provoked by the ruine of their Houſes, adviſed *Cæſar* of their retreat, who immediately put his Troops into order, and gave command for the planting of Ladders at the ſame moment of time that *Pompey* ſhould give the ſignal to his Archers, who yet eaſily ſecured their retreat by certain private paths that they were well acquainted with. So that *Pompey* got all his Troops on Board, and at the beginning of the night weighed Anchor; *Cæſar*'s Souldiers got over the Walls, and had certainly fallen into the Pits which were prepared for them, had not the People of the Town given them warning, ſo that they were forced to take a large Circuit to come to the Port; which nevertheleſs was not ſo great a hindrance to them; but that they had time enough with Barks, and ſome other ſmall Veſſels to ſeize upon two of *Pompey*'s Ships, who had run themſelves a ground in going out of the Haven, while the reſt made all the Sail they could, and ſaved themſelves.

Cæſar

Cæsar seeing himself in sixty days Master of all *Italy*, was now extremely desirous to attack his Enemies e'er yet the supplies they expected from *Asia* could come to join them. But wanting Shipping, he resolved to go to *Rome*, to settle there some sort of Government, and then pass into *Spain*, to drive thence those Troops of *Pompey*, who had taken possession of it under the Command of *Affranius* and *Petreius*. He sent orders to all his Officers Commanding upon that side, to get together some Shipping, and send them to *Brundusium*. He gave *Valerius* one Legion to go into *Sardignia*, and three to *Curio* for *Sicily*, with orders to go forward into *Africk* so soon as they had brought that Island to Submission, *Cato* Commanded there for the Senate, and *Aurelius Cotta* in *Sardignia*. They neither of them staid to attend the coming up of *Cæsar*'s Troops. And *Cato* after having publickly complained of *Pompey*'s Conduct totally abandoned *Sicily*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Cæsar *goes to* Rome, *by the way sees* Cicero. *He seizes upon the money of the publick Treasury, and goes into* Spain. *The siege of* Marseilles.

NOW *Cæsar* having put his Troops into good Quarters, began his Journey towards *Rome*, after having written to all those of the Senate, who had not already declared themselves to meet him there, and assist him with their Councils: But above all, he desired to see *Cicero*, and pressed him to come by *Oppius* and *Cælius*, who were Friends to them both, and near his Person. *Cæsar*, the more to engage him to it, took an opportunity to see him in his Journey. The Conversation that passed between two so extraordinary men as they were, and moved each by different Considerations, must needs have something in it very remarkable. *Cæsar* complain'd to *Cicero* of his refusal to go to *Rome*, and told him; *That by that repugnancy he would make it believed that he blamed his Conduct, which might give ill impressions, and be of bad Example to the other Senatours.* To which *Cicero* replyed, *That the reasons he proceeded upon were very different from those of the others.* But *Cæsar* still pressed him, saying, *That he desired his presence at* Rome *for no other end than the proposing of some Accommodation; Might I* (replyed *Cicero*) *here speak my Opinion? I have*

I have nothing to preſcribe you upon that occaſion; *Then* (ſays *Cæſar*) *I will tell you*: *You will tell me* (anſwered *Cicero*) *that the Spaniſh expedition does not pleaſe the Senate, that the Army ought not to go into* Greece; *In ſhort, I have much adoe to forbear diſcovering the Compaſſion I have for the preſent ſtate of* Pompey's *Fortune*; *Oh* (replies *Cæſar*) *I cannot underſtand why things of this nature ſhould be ſaid to me, whoſe duty it is to diſtruſt my ſelf. And that is one reaſon too* (ſays *Cicero*) *why I would not go to* Rome, *for it is my duty alſo to ſpeak my mind, or elſe I ought not to appear in the Senate.* *Cæſar* left him to give him time for reflexion, but *Cicero* could not reſolve with himſelf to go to *Rome*. But *Cæſar* arriving there, compoſed a body of ſuch Senatours as he found there, and called them the Senate, and when they were Aſſembled, made them a ſpeech in juſtification of his Conduct. The reaſons he alledged may he eaſily imagined, the moſt weighty of them having been already taken notice of. He propoſed to the Senate the ſending of Ambaſſadours to *Pompey*, without bogling at the point of Honour, which *Pompey* had laid down for a Maxime, which was, *That in paying that reſpect to any one, they attributed to him a Supreme Authority, and that it was a mark of fear on their part who did it.* But there was no body to be found who would undertake this Commiſſion, becauſe *Pompey* by the advice of *Domitius*, had declared all ſuch Senatours Enemies as ſhould remain Neutrals. *Cæſar* therefore would not

not insist upon this Proposition of an Embassy, but began to think of providing himself with Money, his recourse was to the publick Treasury which he would have had opened. But *Metellus* one of the Tribunes of the People opposed him upon it, alledging, *That the Laws forbad it, that that money was sacred, and that heretofore most horrible imprecations had been denounced upon those who should ever touch it for any other occasions than the Gallick War.* *Cæsar* told him, *He had removed the reasons of those maledictions by bringing* Gaul *under subjection to the Romans.* And when the Tribune insisted still upon the Laws; *Cæsar* being something moved, told him, *That Arms and Laws seldom agreed very well together.* Therefore adds he, *If you do not like my proceeding, you may please to withdraw, the War will not admit of this liberty of Contradiction, but when Peace has once obliged us to lay down our Arms, you may take your time to enlarge your self upon the power and virtue of the Laws; I relinquish much of my right in vouchsafing to tell you this; for you ought to know that you are now in my power, with all those who have provoked the people against me.* After this Discourse he went to the Doors of the Treasury, the Keys whereof not being to be found; *Cæsar* sent for People to break open the Locks, and when *Metellus* had still the boldness to dispute it with him, in a rage laid his hand upon his Sword, and threatned to kill him, saying, *Know young man, that it is harder for me to say this than to doe it.* These words and behaviour

behaviour of *Cæſar* ſo terrifi'd *Metellus*, that he retired. *Cæſar* took out of the Treaſury 3000 pound weight of gold. And the example of *Metellus* was the reaſon, that during the reſt of the War, never any thing was refuſed him. After this he departed from *Rome* upon his Spaniſh expedition; having firſt ſent orders to all his Troops to come and join him; he received news in *Provence* that *Pompey* had ſent *Rufus* into *Spain*, and that by *Pompey*'s intriguing with their Ambaſſadours when they were at *Rome* in the beginning of the War, the People of *Marſeilles* had reſolved to refuſe him entrance into their City, that *Domitius* was gone thither with ſeven Gallies filled with the Slaves, Libertines and Peaſants that belonged to his Lands, and that the Marſeillians had called down to their Succour all the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Mountains. *Cæſar* ſent for fifteen of the chief Men of the City, to deſire of them, *That they would not begin a War with him, but rather follow the example of all* Italy *and ſubmit.* They returned back to the City to adviſe upon the matter, from whence they ſent him this anſwer: *That having underſtood that the People of* Rome *were divided, and that* Pompey *and* Cæſar *were the heads of the two Parties, they had reſolved to take neither part where two men were concerned, to whom they had equal obligations.* In the mean time *Domitius* arriving, was received into the City, ſo declaring him General, they put their Navy to Sea; *Cæſar* incenſed at their pro-

proceeding, besieged the Town with three Legions, and ordered twelve Ships of War to be built at *Arles*; which were completed in thirty days, *Decimus Brutus* was appointed to command them; and *Caius Trebonius* his Lieutenant General was left to continue the Siege.

CHAP. XXII.

Pompey *gathers together great Forces.* Fabius *enters* Spain *with the Troops belonging to* Cæsar.

THough *Pompey*'s design had at the first been ill interpreted. He had too much courage, and was too great a Captain to have proceeded in that manner without being obliged by very powerfull reasons. He knew well the valour of *Cæsar*'s Souldiers, inured by ten years service against Warlike Nations, and by the merit of their General. Besides, he was willing to preserve his Reputation, and not put himself to the hazard of being beaten without hopes of recovery, with Troops but newly raised and unexperienced. Besides, he could not assure himself of the fidelity of those two Legions which *Cæsar* had surrendered him, and who for several years had served under a Man who understood all the arts of making himself beloved. It was this which caused him to go into

into *Greece*, there of ſuch Succours as he could draw out of *Aſia*, which was wholly in his Intereſt to form a body that might be fit to make head againſt *Cæſar*. In effect in a ſhort time he found that he had a very conſiderable Army. He applyed himſelf therefore to exerciſe his Souldiers, with an able Fleet to make himſelf Maſter at Sea, and to furniſh himſelf with Darts, Engines, and all ſuch Equipage as was neceſſary for him. He reckoned much too upon his Army that was in *Spain*, compoſed all of very good Legions; hoping that if *Cæſar* loſt not his Reputation, he might at leaſt loſe there the beſt of his Souldiers, which muſt indeed have ſucceeded as *Pompey* imagined, had he himſelf been at the head of that Army, or had he ſent any of his beſt Officers to command it. But *Cæſar*, who knew the condition it was in, ſaid with his uſual confidence that he went to find an Army without a General; but that he ſhould come back and find a General without an Army. *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and *Varro* commanded in *Spain* for *Pompey*, and underſtanding by *Vibullius Rufus*, that *Cæſar* was upon his march to attack them; upon this advice they reſolved that *Petreius* ſhould join with *Afranius*, and that *Varro* with his Troops ſhould guard the inner part of the Countrey. They making choice of *Lerida* for the Poſt where they would attend the coming of *Cæſar*. *Afranius* had three Legions, and *Petreius* two others, with four and twenty Cohorts of

the Natives of the Countrey, and five thouſand Horſe. *Cæſar* had cauſed the paſſages of the *Pyreneans* to be poſſeſſed by three Legions, Commanded by *Fabius*, who after having put to flight ſome of *Afranius* his Troops that guarded thoſe Defiles, was advanced into *Catalonia*, *Cæſar* followed him with three other Legions, three thouſand Horſe which had accompanied him all his Conqueſts, and as many *Gallick* Cavalry, compoſed all of the nobleſt and braveſt Men of that Nation, beſides the *Gaſcons* and the *Baſques*. There ran at this time a report, that *Pompey* would come by *Mauritania* to put himſelf at the head of his Army, which cauſed *Cæſar* to uſe extreme diligence, and to aſſure himſelf of his Troops by an extraordinary way of proceeding. For he borrow'd certain ſums of Money of all his Officers, which he diſtributed amongſt his Souldiers, by that means engaging his Officers by their own proper intereſts, and his Souldiers by his liberality.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæſar *joyns his Army, and marches againſt* Petreius *and* Afranius.

* *Lerida* is a City of *Catalonia*, within twenty miles of the *Ebre*, ſituated upon an advanced ground between the Rivers *Segre* and *Cinga*. *Fabius* had advanced himſelf between theſe two Rivers, and had cauſed two Bridges to be laid over the *Segre* four thouſand paces diſtance from each other, for the convenience of Forrage. The Enemies Generals had done the ſame thing for the ſame reaſon. So that the Cavalry of both Parties were every day engaged. There happened at the ſame time a fierce fight between two of *Fabius*'s Legions, and *Afranius* with four of his. The two Legions were commanded by *Plancus*, and had certainly been put to the rout, had not *Fabius* come up to their relief with all his Troops; *Cæſar* in the mean while marched to joyn him with eight hundred Horſe, and in two days made that Road which reaches from the *Pyreneans* down to the *Segre*. After that he had underſtood the diſpoſition of the places, and of the Countrey, and that the reſt of his Troops were arrived, he gave orders for the repairing of one of thoſe Bridges which the River had broken down, and left ſix Cohorts with all his Baggage to guard the Bridge, and his Camp. Marching embattelled in

* Ilerda.

three Lines, till he came within view of the Enemy. *Afranius* appeared with his Troops in Battalia, upon an eminence where he was encamped, and where *Cæſar* could not attack him, which oblig'd him to poſt himſelf four hundred paces onely from the foot of the Mountain. The Romans never uſed to encamp without retrenching themſelves within a Ditch, and a Paliſade, which the Legionary Souldiers could throw up in an inſtant, every one of them beſides his Arms carrying a ſtake upon his Shoulders for the making of the Paliſade. This was their firſt work; and this they ſupported with Earth and Turf for the forming of a Rampart. *Cæſar* that he might not be diſturbed in intrenching, left his two foremoſt lines to remain in Battalia, while the third wrought under the ſhelter of the two others, and threw up a Ditch of fifteen foot breadth, ſo that face of the Camp which looked towards the Enemy, was fortifi'd e'er *Afranius* could perceive it. Then *Cæſar* cauſed his Troops to retreat by the two ends of the Trench. His whole Army were all that night at their Arms, and the next day he drew up three Legions in Battalia behind the Ditch. As it was a hard matter to get Turf, he contented himſelf to cauſe a Trench to be thrown up upon the other ſides of his Camp, by the three Legions who were not at their Arms. The work was completed in a few days, though *Afranius* and *Petreius* made ſome attempts to hinder it, but unſucceſsfully, ſo that

that being in ſo good a condition as it was, *Cæſar* cauſed all his Equipage to come up, with the Cohorts that were at the guard of the Bridge.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Battel of Lerida.

BEtween the Eminence where the Enemy was Encamped; and the Town of *Lerida*, there was a Plain of about three hundred paces, and in the middle of that Plain a ſmall advanced ground, *Cæſar* endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of this Poſt, and fortifie himſelf there, by that means to take away from the Enemy the conveniency of their Bridge, and their communication with the City, from whence they furniſhed themſelves with all their ſubſiſtence. He cauſed three of his Legions to advance, which he poſted in three different places, giving orders to the firſt Battalion of that Legion which was neareſt to the advanced ground to run all together, and poſſeſs themſelves of it. But the Cohorts of *Afranius* his advanced Guard, who had leſs way to go, got thither firſt, and repulſed *Cæſar*'s Men. They were ſeconded with other Troops, ſo that the Battel grew hot in that place. The manner of fighting on both ſides was very different.

Afranius his Souldiers accuſtomed to Wars againſt the Barbarians, who never keep their ground, charged fiercely at the firſt, and advanced with a great deal of Courage, but they took no care of their ranks, but opened themſelves in fighting, and when ever they were preſſed hard, thought it no diſhonour, to give ground, and abandon their Poſts, and this *Cæſar* ſays happened in regard that Souldiers eaſily learn the Diſcipline of thoſe places where they have longeſt ſerved. *Cæſar*'s Men on the contrary thought it was for their Honour to fight Embodied, and to keep their ranks, and never to quit their Colours nor their Poſts.

In the mean time the manner of the Enemies fighting ſurpriſed them by its Novelty, they believed that they ſhould be hemm'd in, and the whole Battalion moved with a great deal of diſorder, and the aſtoniſhment had certainly reached the reſt of the Troops, who were not accuſtomed to ſee themſelves puſh't by their Enemies, had not *Cæſar* aſſured them by his preſence. He cauſed a Legion to go on entire, and it was the ninth, which put a ſtop to the Attempts of the Enemy, and charged them ſo hotly, that they retreated under the walls of *Lerida*. But that Legion enraged with the affront they had received, engaged themſelves too inconſiderately in ſo dangerous a place, upon the ſteep part of the riſing ground, upon which the City was built. *Afranius* his Souldiers returned to the charge, and as they had got-

ten

ten the advantage of the place, and *Cæſar* alſo had recruited his Men, the Battel laſted five hours upon that ſpot with great diſadvantage to *Cæſar*'s Party, who were forced to fight up hill, and where every Dart from the Enemy did execution, which laſt obliged them to run up with their Swords in their hands, and with ſo much vigour, that they puſhed the Enemies Party which were in the Trenches, and the others alſo in the ſame place. By this time *Cæſar*'s Horſe were with difficulty advanced to favour their retreat which they made without any diſorder. Both Parties attributed to themſelves the Honour of the Victory. *Cæſar*, becauſe his Troops had maintained the fight for five hours in ſo diſadvantageous a Poſt, and that they had with their Swords in their hands, put the Enemy to flight. And *Afranius* for that his being leſs in number, had had at firſt the advantage, and that he ſtill remained Maſter of the Poſt for which they fought, and which he cauſed to be fortified.

CHAP. XXV.

Cæſar's *Army reduced to great extremities by the overflowing of two Rivers.* Cicero *and a great many other Senatours go to find out* Pompey.

AN Accident which happened two days after this Battel, gave him ſtill greater hopes. The Rains which fell in abundance, and melted the Snow upon the Mountains, ſo ſwelled up the two Rivers, that the Rapidity of the Waters carried away both *Cæſar*'s Bridges, ſo that he ſaw himſelf ſhut up between two over-flown Rivers, and could receive neither Convoys of Proviſions, nor thoſe powerfull ſuccours which he expected out of *Gaul* and *Italy:* This was at the beginning of Summer, when the Corn was not yet ripe enough for the making of Bread. Beſides *Afranius* his *Spaniards* being well acquainted with the Countrey, and accuſtomed to paſs the Rivers in Goat-skins, which they always carried with them to the Wars, continually met and fell upon *Cæſar*'s Men, when ever any of them were ſtragling or out from the reſt. *Afranius*, on the other ſide, had great ſtore of Corn, and other Proviſions, which he ſtill ſupply'd himſelf withall out of that part of the Countrey which lay behind his Camp, and which had not yet been ravaged. *Cæſar* attempted to repair his Bridges, but the largeneſs and violence of the Rivers

Rivers rendered all his endeavours fruitleſs; beſides, that the Enemy diſturbed the Work with flights of Darts from the other ſide of the *Segre*: by this time the ſuccours from *Gaul* were arrived, conſiſting of Archers and Cavalry, compoſed of the beſt and choſen youth of *Gaul*, all Sons of Senatours, or Knights, whom *Cæſar* had honoured with thoſe dignities. According to the cuſtome of that Nation, they brought with them great Equipages, abundance of Chariots and Slaves, but all in no order, and without command. They arrived, in this condition, upon the Bank of the *Segre*, which they could not paſs; And *Afranius* being adviſed of the difficulties they were in, paſſed over with three Legions, and all his Cavalry, to ſurprize them. The ſight of the Enemy made the *Gauls* to rally, and form themſelves into a Body, which ſtood and received the Enemies Horſe with a great deal of Bravery; but ſeeing the Colours of the Legions appearing, they retreated towards the Mountains, without any more loſs than 200 Archers, a few Horſemen, and ſome Servants that were with their Equipages. In the mean time the want of Proviſions grew to a great height in *Cæſar*'s Camp, and his Souldiers were very much diſcouraged, as well with the fears of future miſeries, as with the ſenſe of the preſent. A Buſhel of Corn was ſold for Fifty pence, and Fortune ſeemed abſolutely to declare her ſelf for *Afranius*, whoſe Troops enjoyed all manner of plenty. Both

he

he and *Petreius* gave an account, by Letters, to *Rome*, of the advantage they had gotten; And thoſe of *Pompey*'s Party went in ſhoales to pay viſits to *Afranius* his Wife, and congratulate with her upon the news: A great many Senatours, who had till then ſtood neuters, went to find out *Pompey*, ſome in hopes to make their Court to him, by carrying him the firſt account of ſo good Tidings; others to get what ſhares they could in the fruit of a Victory, which they already aſſured themſelves of, by the ruine of *Cæſar*. *Cicero* was one of theſe laſt in ſpight of the wholſome advice of *Atticus*, the endeavours of his beſt Friends, who were then with *Cæſar*, and *Cæſar*'s own Letters to him, wherein he conjures him, for the ſake of their Friendſhip, to remain Neuter. *It will not be believed* (ſays he in one of them) *that the Juſtice of my Enemies Cauſe has prevailed with you to declare againſt me, but that you have been diſtated at ſome action of mine which would moſt ſenſibly grieve me. A Man of Honour who loves his Countrey, and its Peace, ought to avoid the taking of any ſide in the diſorders of a Civil War. The mere conſideration of danger hath hindered many men from following thoſe opinions, though they might have perhaps approved of them. For you, who know by my conduct the extent of my Soul and my Friendſhip, you cannot doe better nor more for your Honour than to avoid the engaging your ſelf, by any means, in theſe Broils.* But theſe reaſons were not of ſuch prevalency with *Cicero*, as the News he received from *Spain*. Therefore he went

to

to find *Pompey*, who was very glad to ſee him, but gave him no Employment, being not very well ſatisfied with him, for that he had obſerved in him ſome regret to be engaged ſo unſeaſonably, and which he could not forbear giving inſtances of by his Raileries; For when *Pompey* reproached him, that he came in a little late; *How late?* (anſwered he) *I do not find your affairs in ſuch forwardneſs.* And another time, when it was told him, that ſeven *Eagles* had been taken in *Pompey*'s Camp, and that it was a happy Omen. *It would be very lucky indeed* (ſaid he) *if we were going to make War upon the* Magpies: ſo that *Pompey* could not refrain telling of him, *That he ſhould get him gone into* Cæſar's *Camp, where he would have leſs reaſon to jeſt, and more to be Afraid.* At laſt, *Cato* having remonſtrated to him, *That he ought to have preſerved the Neutrality which he at firſt made profeſſion of, and that the Inconſtancy of his proceeding was unworthy of a Man, as he was well acquainted with the Maximes of True* Philoſophy. *Cicero* took the firſt opportunity of retiring, and never came up to the Battel of *Pharſalia.*

CHAP. XXVI.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæſar *paſſes the* Segre, *and purſues* Afranius *and* Petreius.

THE Joy of *Pompey*'s Party was not very long-liv'd, but quickly changed with the Fortune of *Cæſar*; who, after having vainly endeavoured to repair his Bridges, gave orders amongſt his Souldiers for the Building ſome of thoſe ſort of Veſſels, the uſe whereof they had learned in the *Britiſh* Expedition. The Keel and bottom of theſe Boats was of Light Wood, and the reſt with Ozier, covered over with Leather: he cauſed them to be tranſported in the night upon Chariots, 22 miles from his Camp, and ſo paſſed over his Souldiers to the other ſide of the River, who poſſeſſed themſelves of an advanced ground, where they retrenched before the Enemy could get any notice of their deſign. Theſe Troops were followed by one Legion, and in two days a Bridge was built in that place. The Succours and Proviſions which came from *Gaul* paſſed eaſily over, and their Souldiers were refreſhed. *Cæſar* then cauſed his Horſe to go over, who ſurpriſed the Forragers, a great number whereof they ſlew, routing their Guard which conſiſted of *Spaniards*, and carried away a conſiderable booty. At this time the face of Affairs ſeemed utterly changed. The valour of *Cæſar*'s Horſe had ſo amazed the Enemy,

Enemy, that they never after durſt venture out to fetch in Forrage, and the Towns of *Heuſia*, *Callahora*, *Taragona*, *Tacca* and *Vich* coming over intirely to his party, ſent him Proviſions. *Illurgavia* another City near *Ebre* followed their example, and one Cohort of that City, which was in the Enemies ſervice, revolted to *Cæſar*'s Camp. He then cauſed an Intrenchment to be thrown up thirty foot in depth, by that means to make the *Segre* fordable, and ſpare his Horſe the pains of fetching a long circuit to find the Bridge. *Pompey*'s Generals began now, in their turn, to be afraid of the want of proviſions, becauſe that *Cæſar* was much too ſtrong for them in Cavalry. So they reſolve to go into *Portugal*, where the People held the Name of *Pompey* in great Veneration. For this deſign they furniſhed themſelves with what Boats they could get in and about the River *Ebre*, and carried them to *Octogeſa*. This was a place about Twenty Mile from their Camp, then they commanded a Bridge to be made of theſe Boats, and paſſed the *Segre* with two Legions. *Cæſar*'s Work and *Afranius*'s Bridge came to be finiſhed much about the ſame time, with extreme diligence on both ſides, and unſpeakable labour on *Cæſar*'s part. In fine, *Pompey*'s two Generals left two Cohorts in Garriſon at *Lerida*, and went with all their Troops to join the two Legions which were paſſed over. At the third Watch all that Army decamped to gain the *Ebre*; after which, *Cæſar* ſounding

ing the depth of the Ford, and finding it in good condition, commanded all his Cavalry to paſs over and fall upon the Enemy; At break of day, from the Eminency of *Ceſar*'s Camp, he could diſcover that his Horſe had joined the Enemy, that they extremely preſſed their Rere-guard, and had put them into diſorder, which was eaſily to be gueſſed from the confuſion of their motion. The Souldiers ran about the Camp, crying, that the Enemy would eſcape, and yet protract the War longer than there was neceſſity for it; They deſired their Officers to aſſure *Ceſar*, that they would refuſe no Fatigue to come to a Battel, and that they could eaſily foard over where the Horſe had gone before them: This eagerneſs of theirs was the reaſon that he left the weakeſt of his Men, with one Legion, to guard his Camp. And after having diſpoſed a great many Horſe both above and below the Ford, he cauſed his other Legions to paſs over without their Baggage; ſome of the Souldiers were carried away by the ſwiftneſs of the Stream, but were ſaved by the horſemen. So that all the Army got over without the loſs of one Man. Aſſoon as they came on the other ſide of the Ford they drew up in Battalia, and Marched ſo faſt, that though they were forced to go ſix Miles about, and had loſt a great deal of time in paſſing the River, they joined the Enemy before three a Clock in the Afternoon, who had come away at midnight.

night. *Afranius* and *Petreius* drew up their Troops upon the hill, *Cæſar* kept his on the Plain, being unwilling, (weary as they were) to expoſe them to a Battel. But in the moment that the two Generals moved towards a retreat, he followed them without reſting, and forced them to Encamp much ſooner than they had at firſt reſolved.

CHAP. XXVII.

Different motions of the two Armies. Cæſar *beſieges the Enemies two Generals.*

FRom the place where they were Encamped, there was a Plain of five Miles, reaching to the Mountains and Defiles which they had a mind to poſſeſs themſelves of, to put a ſtop to *Cæſar*'s Cavalry, and go without danger as far as the *Ebre*. *Cæſar* underſtood this deſign, and that they intended ſilently to quit their Camp, ſo he immediately ordered a cry in his Camp of *Load the Baggage*, which was an uſual Cry amongſt the Roman Souldiers. This noiſe kept the Enemy in their Trenches, fearing leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed in diſorder upon their march, but at break of day *Petreius* went to take an account of the Defiles with a ſmall party of Horſe. *Decidius Saxa* had received the ſame orders from *Cæſar*, they both brought back word

word to their Camp, that he who firſt got poſſeſſion of thoſe Defiles might cut off from the Enemy the paſſage to the *Ebre*.

Afranius and *Petreius* called a Council of War; whether they ſhould depart that night, or ſtay till morning; thoſe that were of the opinion to ſtay till morning, carried it, by reaſon of the hazard they muſt run, ſhould they be ingaged to a Battel in the dark, where the Souldiers (eſpecially in a Civil War as this was) would not be retained by the example of their Officers, nor any ſenſe of their own ſhame. At break of day *Cæſar* left his Trenches, and marched with all his Troops towards the Hills, taking a great Circuit without keeping any certain Road. The Vallies were very difficult of paſſage, being full of ſharp Rocks, and rough ways. But the Souldiers perſuaded that the price of the Victory, and the end of all their Toils depended upon their diligence, to eaſe themſelves, gave their Arms to thoſe who were firſt got over, and ſo ſupported one another in the paſſage: Immediately *Afranius*'s men having left their Trenches, and obſerving the motion of *Cæſar*'s Army, which was not toward the way which led to the Mountains, by reaſon of their going about, believed, that preſt for want of Forrage, he was upon his retreat, upon which they ſet up great hootings, and their Commanders were very glad that they had ſtayed for the day, without running any hazard in the night. But when they perceived by

their

their facing to the right, that the firſt of the Troops were already got on the other ſide of their Camp, they thought it high time for them to depart and prevent the Enemy, ſo they cryed to Arms, and marched, after having left ſome Cohorts to guard the Camp and the Baggage. It was their buſineſs to try who could firſt get poſſeſſion of the Mountains. The difficulty of the ways was a great hindrance to *Cæſar*'s Troops; but his Cavalry as much incommoded thoſe of *Afranius*. So they already ſaw themſelves neceſſitated to loſe their Baggage to ſave themſelves, for *Cæſar*'s Horſe had got between them and their Camp. The matter of importance was, who ſhould make themſelves Maſters of the Defiles. *Cæſar* by the diligence of his Men carried it, where after having paſſed the Rocks, which were almoſt inacceſſible, found the Plain where he might draw up his Legions in Battalia. The two Generals ſeeing the Infantry before them, and the Horſe behind them, made a hault upon a hill, from whence they detached four Cohorts of Spaniards, who were deſigned to get poſſeſſion of a Mountain which ſeemed to be the higheſt, and by that means to open themſelves a way to the *Ebre*. But they were hemmed in by *Cæſar*'s Horſe, who cut them all to pieces in ſight of both Armies. His Souldiers preſſed him that he would take that occaſion to complete the defeat of his Enemies, whoſe fear appeared by the diſor-

der their Colours were in, but he would not doe it, for he ſaw the Victory aſſured without fighting, and was reſolved to ſpare the bloud of his Souldiers, ſo he cauſed his Cavalry to retreat, and gave the Enemy liberty to return to their Camp, which they had quitted in the morning. *Cæſar* leaving ſome Troops at the Defiles, and having blockt up the paſſage to the *Ebre*, came the next day and poſted himſelf in ſight of their Trenches. They had but two things to chuſe, either to return to *Lerida*, or go to *Tarracona*. As they were conſulting upon this, news was brought them that *Cæſar*'s Cavalry had fallen upon theirs, which were gone to get water, which obliged them to ſend more Legionary Cohorts, ſeconded with Cavalry to maintain a work they deſigned to make, by throwing up a Trench as far as the *Segre*. The two Generals divided themſelves for this Deſign, and as they were buſying themſelves about it, their Souldiers left their Trenches, and came to a Parley with *Cæſar*'s, they almoſt all of them knew one another, being of the ſame City, and moſt of them either Friends or Relations. They gave them thanks that the day before they had not fallen upon them in that diſorder they were then in, they bemoaned themſelves that they ſhould be forc't to carry Arms againſt Men who for ſo many reaſons ought to be dear to them. In ſhort, they demanded ſurety for their Generals, promiſing in that caſe to ſurrender themſelves to *Cæſar*,

Cæſar, to whom alſo they deputed their Principal Centurions for a Treaty. In the mean while inviting *Cæſar*'s Souldiers into their Camp, and carrying them into their Tents, where they offered them ſuch refreſhments as they had. *Afranius*'s Son. himſelf entered upon Capitulation by the means of *Sulpitius* a Lieutenant General, and there was ſome appearance that the two Armies being united, matters might have been brought to a kind concluſion.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Petreius *cauſes ſeveral of* Cæſar's *Souldiers to be ſlain. He decampeth, and* Cæſar *follows him, but without a deſign of defeating him utterly.*

UPon the news of this, *Afranius* returned to the Camp, and retired himſelf to his Tent, reſolved againſt all events. *Petreius* did not ſo, he cauſed ſeveral of his Slaves and his Guards to take their Arms, and with ſome Spaniſh Horſe ran to the Trenches, driving thence *Cæſar*'s Men, and cauſing his own Souldiers to retire. Thoſe of *Cæſar* rallied, ſeeing that he ordered thoſe Spaniards to charge them, and after having loſt ſome Men, retreated to their Camp. *Petreius* being entered into his, went from Quarter to Quarter, and aſſembling his Troops together, conjured them with tears in his Eyes to remember *Pompey* their General, to whom they had ſo mighty obligations, and demanded from them a new Oath of Fidelity, he took it firſt himſelf, afterwards obliging *Afranius* to it, and all the other Officers, and in fine, all the Souldiers one after another. Then it was ordered that all thoſe that had any of *Cæſar*'s Souldiers in their Tents ſhould bring them forth, ſome were produced and Maſſacred in the preſence of the whole Army. They believed that the obligations of that Oath, and that example

ple of Cruelty, would be ſo ſtrong an engagement, that the Souldiers would never after break it; nevertheleſs, a great many preſerved thoſe that were in their Tents, without diſcovering of them, and at night helpt them to eſcape over the Ramparts. *Cæſar* would not imitate this Cruelty of the Enemies Generals, but ſent back all their Souldiers which were in his Camp, at leaſt all thoſe that would return, (for a great many Officers had taken Party with him.) The Enemy preſſed by all manner of neceſſity, reſolved now to retreat to *Lerida*, where they had yet ſome Proviſions, and the next morning they Decamped. The order of their March was thus, the beſt of their Cohorts they placed in their Rere Guard, to make head in the Plain againſt *Cæſar*'s Army, which followed them afterwards as they were paſſing the Mountain, they more eaſily defended themſelves, becauſe that thoſe who firſt got up, could with their Darts defend them that followed; but upon the deſcent on the other ſide they found great diſadvantage, for they could not aſſiſt one another, and *Cæſar*'s Cavalry might annoy them with Darts. As they went down to avoid this, the Legions in a whole body making a hault, charged ſo fiercely upon the Cavalry, that they forced them to retire, and after having ſo repulſed them, ran with what ſpeed they could into the Valley to get to the other ſide, where they might face about, but by reaſon of what had hapned, they were not

perſued very faſt, and after having marched four miles, *Afranius* and *Petreius* encamped upon an advanced ground, where they made a ſort of retrenchment. *Cæſar* poſted himſelf very near them, and after they had obſerved that his Horſe were gone out to Forrage, they began about Noon to march again. *Cæſar* immediately followed them with his Infantry, and ſent order to his Horſe to come up to him at four of the Clock, they quickly returned, and the Enemy being preſſed by his whole Army, were forced to take another Poſt very diſadvantageous, and far from any water. *Cæſar* would not for the reaſons I have already related, intirely defeat them, though he might eaſily have done it, but left them at liberty to retrench themſelves, which they did with all poſſible diligence, and carrying on their Trenches from one Poſt to another, endeavoured to advance under the ſhelter of their Works. But this onely ſerved to hinder them more from water, which for one whole day they wanted. The next day all their Army marched in Battalia to ſeek for ſome, but no one durſt leave the body to go and fetch in Forrage. This gave *Cæſar* to underſtand the neceſſity to which they were reduced, and confirmed him in his deſign, ſo he ordered the beginning of his Line for the blocking of them up. Three days were ſo employed in removing earth on every ſide, during which time they cauſed all the Beaſts of burthen in their Camp to be killed. In the mean while *Cæſar's*

ſar's work was very much advanced, and at three a clock in the afternoon, the two Generals drew out to oppoſe it, embattelling themſelves upon three lines. *Cæſar* for the ſake of his Reputation would not ſeem to decline the Fight; ſo he drew up his Troops in Battalia upon three Lines alſo. The Cohorts of the Legions upon the right and left, the Archers and Slingers in the Centre, and his Horſe upon the Wings. In this order he attended their motion, reſolving himſelf not to begin the attack. The two Armies were upon their Retrenchments, which were onely carried on for two hundred paces, and ſo they remained till night without doing any thing. *Cæſar* then cauſed his Works to be renewed, and the two Generals had a deſign to open themſelves a paſſage to the *Segre*, to try there if they could find a Ford; but this hope of theirs was fruſtrated by the light armed German Foot, and a Party of Horſe which *Cæſar* had ſent on the other ſide of the River to defend the paſſages by *Corps du Guard*, which he cauſed every where to be Poſted.

CHAP. XXIX.

Afranius *and* Petreius *pressed for want of provision, surrender themselves to* Cæsar *with all their Army.*

AT last having for four days suffered all the inconveniences imaginable, as want of Corn, Forrage, Water, and every thing else that was necessary, *Afranius* and *Petreius* demanded a private Treaty, which *Cæsar* refused them, and obliged them to speak what they had to offer in presence of both the Armies; *Afranius* his Son was given for Hostage, and *Afranius* himself spoke for his Party, he excused them, for that they had to the last extremity maintained that fidelity which they owed to *Pompey* their General, and said, *That they believed they had given sufficient marks of their Zeal which if he thought a Crime, they were already sufficiently punished for it by the misery which he had brought upon them, that they acknowledged their defeat, and begged that* Cæsar *would use it according to his wonted generosity, and not treat them with the utmost rigour.* He spoke this in a very submissive manner; to which *Cæsar* answered, *That* Afranius *and his Collegue had less reason than any body to complain and desire favour, that all the others had done but their duty, that he had refused to fall upon them when he had the advantage, if possible by such honourable proceedings to have obliged them to a peace, that his Army being*

un-

unwilling to revenge upon their Souldiers the perfidy by which they had put his men to the Sword, and their Souldiers alſo teſtifying their wiſhes for Peace, in ſending to them to demand it, was a ſufficient Teſtimony that every body did entertain ſentiments of Juſtice and Amity, except Afranius *and his Collegue, who without having any regard to the rules of truce and intervews, had barbarouſly butchered his men after having ſurprized them by a falſe ſhew of Friendlineſs and good intention, that they being therefore juſtly fallen into a condition which ſuch arrogance and obſtinacy deſerved were reduced to implore that with ſubmiſſion which they had before refuſed with contempt; but that nevertheleſs he would not pretend to take any advantage either of their ſubmiſſion, or the favours of Fortune, but onely oblige them to diſmiſs thoſe Troops that for ſo long time had born Arms againſt him.* That and ſomething more he added againſt the Conduct of his Enemies, and in fine, ſaid, *That as he had no deſign (though he might eaſily do it) to make uſe of thoſe Troops for his aſſiſtence, ſo he would take care they ſhould not be employed to his prejudice, that therefore they ſhould quit the Province, and diſcharge their Soudiers, which was the onely condition of Peace he had to propoſe.*

Afranius's Souldiers approved of this diſcourſe, and teſtified their joy by their acclamations; ſo every thing was ordered accordingly, and thoſe who were ſetled in *Spain* were diſcharged upon the place, the others were to be diſmiſſed, ſo ſoon as they arrived at the River *Avarus*, *Cæſar* promiſed

to

to furnish them with Provisions till they came to that place, and not to compell any of them to take Party in his Troops, which was all faithfully performed. *Fussius Calenus*, *Cæsar*'s Lieutenant General, guarded them with two Legions as far as *Avarus*, where they had liberty to depart. It is true that the greatest part of them ingaged themselves voluntarily in *Cæsar*'s Service, and the two Generals went to find out *Pompey*. *Cæsar* that he might leave himself no Enemy in *Spain*, caused two Legions to advance under the Command of *Cassius Longinus*, and went himself to *Cordova* with six hundred Horse. *Varro*, who commanded for *Pompey*, had made some preparations there towards War, after having a long time disputed with himself which side he should take, but at the arrival of *Cæsar* all the Towns, and one intire Legion abandon'd *Varro*; this obliged him to retire to *Cadiz*, where he had some Shipping: In the mean while *Cæsar* becoming Master of the whole Province, *Varro* himself came to seek him out, and surrendred the remainder of his Forces into his hands, *Cæsar* at that time leaving *Longinus* with four Legions in *Spain*, after having drawn great sums of Money out of all the Towns, he Embarked himself on board *Varro*'s Ships, to go to *Tarragona*, from whence he went by land to *Narbona*, and so to the siege of *Marseilles*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

The continuation of the Siege of Marſeilles, *and the taking of that City.* Cæſar *choſen Dictatour. The defeat and death of* Curio *in* Africa.

THAT City ſtill held out againſt *Trebonius*, who beſieged it by Land, and *Decimus* * *Brutus*, who attacked it by Sea, and its obſtinacy had like to have coſt it its intire ruine. The Inhabitants, under the conduct of *Domitius*, and aſſiſted by the Mountaneirs near the City, a fierce People, and very good Souldiers, having twice given Battel by Sea to *Brutus*, though with ſome difficulty, had been beaten in again. They were alſo attacked by Land, and blocked up by Lines and other Works. Neceſſity had driven them alſo to make uſe of Artifices, and under the pretence of a Treaty, which made *Cæſar*'s Souldiers negligent, they made a ſtrong Sally, in which they burnt a great many Towers and Warlike Engines, and this was the reaſon that the Siege laſted ſo long; beſides, *Trebonius* had orders from *Cæſar*, not to force the place, for fear it ſhould be utterly laid in Ruines by the unrulineſs of the Souldiers. *Cæſar* arrived juſt as they were reduced to their laſt extremity, and when the Plague was already got amongſt the People, who had been for ſo long time ſhut up. They ſent Deputies to him for a fair Capitulation

* Junius.

tulation, during which time *Domitius* made his escape by Sea; *Cæsar* pardoned them in favour, as he said, of their Name and Antiquity, rather than for any other merit, upon condition, that they should surrender to him all their Arms and Engines of War, and give him all the Money that was in the City; so after having left two Legions there in Garrison, and sending the other into *Italy*, he departed for *Rome*, where the news of his Conquests had caused him to be chosen Dictator, by *Marcus* * *Lepidus*, who was then Pretor; but that good fortune, which seemed hitherto to be inseparable from his Party, forsook him in *Africa*, whither *Curio* was gone from *Sicily* with two Legions and 500 Horse. This young Man, full of fire and courage, but without much experience in War, had to doe with *Attius Varus*, a Lieutenant of *Pompey*'s, assisted by that *Quintillius Varus* whom *Cæsar* had set at liberty, when he had taken him Prisoner in *Corfinium*, and *Juba* King of *Mauritania*. This Prince was a particular Enemy to *Curio*, by reason, that when he was Tribune he had proposed the reducing of his Kingdom into a Province: *Quintillius* being acquainted with *Curio*'s Souldiers, when they had served in *Corfinium*, tried at first to debauch some of them; but *Curio* preserved their Faith by his Eloquence, and the consideration of the Name and Victories of *Cæsar*; and to keep them in employment, led them on to attack the Camp of *Attius Varus*, near *Utica*, the Battel was very

* Æmilius.

very bloudy, and at laſt *Caſar*'s Men became Maſters of the Camp; *Varus* was wounded, and *Curio* laid Siege to *Utica*, when *Juba* arrived with great Forces within Twenty five Miles of the place. *Curio* was much too weak for *Juba*, and expecting the coming up of new Troops, his deſign was not to expoſe himſelf to a Battel, when the *African* cauſed a report to be ſpread that ſome Important Affairs called him back into his Countrey, and that he would leave *Saburra*, one of his Lieutenants, with part of his Forces, to raiſe the Siege of *Utica*; *Curio*'s Youth (ſaith *Caſar*) animated with courage, and the good ſucceſs of his firſt exploits, made him too eaſily to believe that report; ſo he reſolved for fighting, and went to find *Saburra* upon the River *Bagadra*, where he was encamped. At his firſt coming he ſurpriſed the Enemies *Numidian* Horſe, whereof he made a great ſlaughter; and as he underſtood that *Saburra* Commanded thoſe Troops, his preſent joy and future hopes hindred him from ſeeking any farther Information: So, with his Troops, wearied as they were, he marched directly upon the Enemy. *Juba*, hearing of this, ſent Two thouſand *Gallick* and *Spaniſh* Horſe, which were of his Guards, to his Lieutenant, with orders to retreat, (in fighting,) towards him. He was but ſix Miles from *Saburra*, and Marched that hour with his whole Army and Forty Elephants; *Saburra* following the King's Command, drew up his Men in Battalia, and made

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a kind of retreat, which caused *Curio* to attack him very fiercely; and though for mere weariness a great many of his Horse had abandoned him, *Saburra* would make no opposition but with his own Cavalry against *Curio*'s, which consisted onely of Two hundred Horse, and with this Squadron, whereever he attacked them, he made the Enemy give way: The Cohorts of the Legions had the same success, but the Enemy always Rallied in expectation of *Juba*'s Succour. At last the *Romans*, finding themselves hemmed in by the numbers, which all of a sudden increased upon them, *Curio* began to see his fault; He would have made an attempt to have gained a Mountain with his Foot, but *Saburra* opposed him with all his Horse. Then *Domitius*, who commanded *Curio*'s, would have persuaded him to have saved himself with what Cavalry he had left, promising not to forsake him. *Can I*, sayes Curio, *look* Cæsar *in the Face, after having lost an Army which he hath trusted to my Conduct?* At these words he threw himself amongst the midst of his Enemies, where he was slain, the rest of his Troops were cut in pieces, and *Juba* used the Victory with so much Insolence, that he caused all the other Cohorts who were in the Camp, and to whom *Varus* had given his word for their safety, to be killed in cold bloud. So *Cesar* lost two Legions, and all *Africk* entire, which afterwards remained for *Pompey*'s Party, whose hopes, by this defeat of *Curio*, overcame his despair for the loss of *Spain*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Pompey's *Forces.* *The defeat of* Dylabella *and* Cajus Antonius, Cæſar's *Lieutenants*, Brutus *goes to find out* Pompey.

BY this means almoſt all the World becoming ingaged in the Quarrel of theſe two Men, was ſenſible of the Calamities of War which that diviſion had produced. *Pompey* had brought over all the Eaſt to his Intereſt; and during the time of *Cæſar*'s being at *Rome* and in *Spain*, had drawn together very powerfull Armies both by Sea and Land: his Land Army conſiſted of three *Roman* Legions effective, without reckoning the other two which *Scipio* his Brother-in-law brought him: Three thouſand Archers of *Crete*, of *Lacedemonia*, and of *Pontus*, Eight Cohorts of Slingers, and 7000 Horſe, compoſed (beſides the *Roman* Knights) of Succours ſent from *Deijotarus* King of *Galitia*, *Ariobarzakes* King of *Cappadocia*, *Cotis* and *Rhaſcupolis* Kings of *Thrace*, and *Antiochus* King of *Comagena*; theſe Troops were diſtributed into *Curazzo* and *Apollonia*, and over all that Coaſt, to oppoſe the coming down of *Cæſar*; the Naval Army conſiſted of Five hundred great Ships, without reckoning Veſſels that were rowed with Oars, as Gallies, Brigantines and others; the Principal Commanders were *Pompey*'s eldeſt Son, called after his own Name, *Decius Lælius*, *Cajus*

Cajus Triarius, *Cajus Cassius*, *Cajus Marcellus*, *Scribonius Libo*, and *Marcus Octavius*, all these Commanders had their particular Squadrons, and received Orders from *Bibulus* who executed the Office of Admiral: Besides these Forces, *Pompey* had drawn great Sums of Money out of *Asia* and *Greece*; And to recompence himself, in some manner, for the loss of *Spain*, had caused *Dolabella* and *Cajus Antonius*, who commanded for *Cæsar* on the Coast of *Illyria*, to be attached. *Dolabella* was easily routed, and *Cajus*, who came to his succour, not being strong enough to keep the Sea, was driven into the Island of *Corcyra*, where *Octavius* and *Libo* besieged him. He defended himself very well; but at last his Souldiers prest by Famine, and corrupted by *Puleïo*, one of their Centurions, surrendred themselves to *Octavius*, and betrayed also their Commandant into his hands. Some Officers, who thought to save themselves over Land, being pursued by the Enemy, slew themselves, and not one Man of all those Troops escaped. These advantages, which daily kept up the reputation of his Party, still engaged more persons of consideration to come and join themselves with *Pompey*, so that he found he had in his Camp above 200 Senatours, whereof he composed a body, and they assembled themselves in the form of a Senate. In one of these Assemblies, by the advice of *Cato*, it was determined, that no *Roman* Citizen should be put to death out of Battel, and that no Town subject

ſubject to the *Roman* Empire ſhould be ſacked. In effect, this Laudable and Honourable Decree drew the good wiſhes of the People upon the Authours of it, and gave the reputation of great Juſtice and Humanity to their deſigns, and was the occaſion that the fortune of *Cæſar* hung for a long time doubtfull, and it was upon this pretence alſo, that *Brutus* afterwards Conſpired againſt him; *Brutus* had a great deal of reaſon to hate *Pompey*, who had cauſed his Father to be put to death. Nevertheleſs, that Severe Vertue, whereof he made profeſſion, and the example of *Cato*, who was his Uncle and Father-in-law, ingaged him in that party which he thought had the moſt Juſtice on its ſide. And though he would never ſpeak to *Pompey*, nor indeed ſo much as ſalute him, he nevertheleſs diſdained not then to ſerve under him, to ſhew, that he could ſacrifice his particular reſentments to the Intereſt of the Republick. *Pompey* received him with a great deal of Joy, and did him ſignal honours. But *Brutus*, in conſideration of his youth, would take no employment, but rather choſe to leave the Commands to thoſe who were above him in age as well as dignity.

CHAP. XXXII.

A Mutiny amongſt Cæſar's *Troops; he reduces them to their duty by his Eloquence and Reſolution. He is choſen Conſul with* Servilius, *and makes new Laws.*

IN the meanwhile, *Cæſar* being ſtill at *Marſeilles*, received news, that the Souldiers of the ninth Legion were in Mutiny at *Plaiſance* againſt their Commanders, demanding their diſcharges, and the Money which had been promiſed to each of them at the beginning of the War. But that which ſtuck in their ſtomachs, was, that they were prohibited the liberty of Plundering, which they hoped to have obtained from the need which he had of their ſervice. It was *Cæſar*'s Maxime, never to condeſcend upon theſe occaſions, but to ſupport himſelf by a reſolute Conduct, and the Authority which he had gotten. So he poſted to *Plaiſance* with ſome Troops, and calling the Mutineers together, *I know not*, ſays he, *what ill fortune oppoſes the end of my good Intentions; But I deſire to have no others to bear witneſs than your ſelves of the diligence which I have uſed in War, which if it be prolonged, it has not been my fault, but the fault of my enemies, who fly before us. After the Conqueſt of* Gaul, *where every one of you, under my Conduct, got both Riches and Honour, we began this War by Common Conſent, nor was it the effect of any private deliberations. We have begun and carried*

ried it on unanimouſly; but now when it is arrived to its greateſt height, you ſeek for a pretence to abandon me, and inſtead of obeying your Officers you would command them. This is that which obliges me to throw off that mildneſs and humanity which I have hitherto uſed, to put in practice the Maximes of Petreius; *and I command inſtantly a Decimation of the Ninth Legion, who hath rebelled againſt my Orders.* The Mutineers, as much confounded at theſe words as if they had been Thunder-ſtrucken, threw themſelves at his Feet, and, with Tears in their Eyes, begged for Pardon, all their Officers did the ſame thing: *Cæſar*, for ſome time, was Inexorable, but at laſt ordered, they ſhould caſt Lots, and the Lots fell on the Chief Mutineers, to the number of Six and twenty; but *Cæſar*'s Anger being over, he was contented that onely Twelve of the moſt notorious of them ſhould ſuffer, who were Executed upon the place: afterwards it was found, that one of theſe was Innocent; and for that he could not be reſtor'd to life, *Cæſar* cauſed him who had accuſed him falſly to be put to death alſo. Then (after a great many Indeavours to perſuade him to it) he gave leave that the reſt of that Legion which he had broken, ſhould ſtill ſerve under him. After this he went to *Rome*, where he held the *Comitia*, or Aſſemblies of the People, in quality of Dictatour; he kept that Dignity onely Eleven days, and cauſed himſelf to be choſen Conſul with *Servilius Iſauricus*; and, as his Deſign was to

make himſelf as many Friends as was poſſible; in purſuance of that purpoſe he propoſed ſeveral favourable Laws; the firſt was concerning the borrowing of Money for the War, as it uſually happens, having ruined all Credit, and rendred a great many Men inſolvable, *Cæſar* ordained, that an eſtimate ſhould be made of Inheritances, at the ſame value they bore before the War, and that Creditours ſhould take them according to this eſtimation, ſo he took away their fear of a general Bankruptry, and ſupported the Credit of the Debtours. Beſides, he drew to his party all ſuch as expected to be favoured in this eſtimate, which was the end of that Law. The other Law was, for the calling home thoſe who had been Condemned during the time that *Pompey* preſided in the paſſing Sentences of Juſtice. *Cæſar* made alſo ſeveral other Ordinances, and after having quitted the Name and Dignity of Dictatour, departed for *Brunduſium.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæſar *with part of his Army goes into* Greece: *ſome diſcourſe of Peace, but to no purpoſe. Two Armies draw towards one another near* Durazzo.

HE had already ſent Orders to Twelve of his Legions and all his Cavalry for their Rendezvous at *Brunduſium*; the Legions were grown very thin by the Wars, and the Marches they had made, as well as by the Diſeaſes of the Autumn, which this year proved very epidemical. In the mean while, for want of Shipping, onely five of them could embark, who amounted to no more than Twenty thouſand Foot, and Six hundred Horſe. He told his Souldiers, *That as they were within a day of bringing all their toile to an end, by a glorious Victory. It was neceſſary to leave their Servants and Equipage in* Italy, *to the end that a greater number of thoſe Men, who were fit for ſervice, might have room to Embark, that they might aſſure themſelves of the fruit of their Victory, and of his acknowledgments.* They all cried out, that he ſhould lead them where he pleaſed; ſo they went on board with great Joy, and in ſpight of the rigour of the ſeaſon, upon the Fourth of *January*, *Cæſar* weighed Anchor. This much ſurprized the Officers of *Pompey*'s Navy, who could not perſuade themſelves that *Cæſar* would venture his Troops at that time of the year when

the Seas were ſo dangerous. But *Cæſar* timed it ſo well, that he made his paſſage in one day, and came into a Road at the foot of thoſe Mountains, which are called the *Ceraunium* Mountains; he made choice of that place, becauſe it was far from the Ports which were poſſeſſed by his Enemies; when, after having landed his Souldiers, he ſent back the Ships to tranſport the reſt of his Army under the Command of *Calenus*. *Bibulus* was at *Corcyra* with a Hundred and ten Ships, and at the firſt news of *Cæſar*'s paſſage put himſelf to Sea, and meeting *Cæſar*'s Veſſels upon the return, took Thirty of them, upon whom he diſcharged in Malice, for he burnt them all, with the very Seamen that were in them, and with his Fleet took poſſeſſion of all the Ports and Roads between *Salonium* and *Orica*: He placed every where up and down very ſtrong Guards, and lay himſelf on board, notwithſtanding the danger of the ſeaſon. In the mean time *Cæſar* took poſſeſſion of *Orica* and *Apollonia*, who, at ſight of his Troops, ſurrendred themſelves; by that means to cut off from *Bibulus* all conveniency from Land, ſo long as he ſhould ſtay to deprive him of the advantage of the Sea. *Cæſar*, who always took great care to juſtifie his Arms, and make known the ſincerity of his Intentions, had ſtill in his hands *Vibullius Rufus*, whom he had twice taken Priſoner, firſt at *Corfinium*, and a ſecond time in *Spain*. Him he ſent to *Pompey*, with whom *Rufus* had ſome Credit; and deſired him to repreſent to him,

That

That Fortune ſeemed hitherto to have diſtributed equal loſs and equal advantages to both parties, by that means, if poſſible, to bring them to ſome accommodation. But as each of them was obſtinate in his opinion, let Arbitratours be choſen between them, who ſhould be the Senate and the People of *Rome*; that if *Pompey* would renounce his Intereſt, and in three days diſmiſs his Troops, he himſelf would doe ſo alſo. *Rufus* charged with theſe Orders, departed with all diligence, and rid Poſt to adviſe *Pompey* of *Cæſar*'s arrival, that being the main thing which obliged *Rufus* to make indeed ſuch haſte, for he knew very well *Pompey* would not commit ſuch an Errour as to take the Senate and the People for Arbitratours, who at that time were abſolutely for *Cæſar*. *Bibulus* at the ſame time made another Propoſition, which he knew very well how to evade, which was, to make a Truce, and permit *Pompey*'s Ships to fetch from the Land Wood, Water and other Refreſhments that they wanted: to which *Cæſar* anſwered, *That as they guarded the Sea againſt him, he would guard the Land againſt them; that if by the means of a Truce, they would have the conveniency of the Land, they ought to leave him the liberty of the Sea, and draw off their Squadrons which guarded the Coaſts.* His deſign was, to gain time for the Tranſporting the reſt of his Troops: but *Bibulus*, who knew it very well, would accept of no Truce upon ſuch Conditions. *Pompey* was in *Macedonia*, where *Rufus* joined with him, and

fearing leſt *Cæſar* ſhould take from him *Durazzo*, Marched with his whole Army to ſave that place where all his Ammunitions were lodged. It was in this March that he underſtood the difference between new Levies and old Souldiers; For as he made very great Journeys, abundance of the Men, either through lazineſs, or not being able to ſupport the Fatigue, abandoned him; and at the leaſt noiſe that *Cæſar* was coming, were in continual diſorder, and appeared as if they were defeated already. *Pompey* nevertheleſs came firſt to *Durazzo*, where he Intrenched himſelf upon the River of *Apſe*, and where *Labyenus* found out an expedient for the confirming of his Troops. He cauſed the whole Army to be drawn together, and in the preſence of all the Souldiers, Sware that he would never forſake his General, but follow him through all his Fortunes, all the other Officers took the ſame Oath, and then the Souldiers one after another. *Cæſar* being prevented by the Enemy, came alſo and Incamped himſelf on the other ſide of the River, to cover the City of *Apollonia*, and both of them in this manner remained for ſome time, expecting the Succours that were to come up to them.

CHAP,

CHAP. XXXIV.

Cæſar *expoſes himſelf alone in a Skiff to go and find the reſt of his Army.*

CÆſar's Legions who remained in *Italy*, were moſt of them old Souldiers, who had ſerved a long time under him. At the firſt orders which they received for their Rendezvous at *Brunduſium*, the propoſing of ſtill new toils made them begin to murmure, ſaying, *That they had worn out their bodies, and drained their veins in* Cæſar's *Service, that the weakneſs to which they were reduced, and the wounds which covered them ought to make him ſenſible that they were neither immortal nor invulnerable; but in the mean while they were dragged from War to War, till the very Iron of their Armour was waſted with wearing*, and abundance of other diſcourſe which old Souldiers that have done good Service will venture upon. In effect they took no care to go to *Brunduſium*, but when they underſtood that *Cæſar* had paſſed the Sea, and was near the Enemy; the love which they had for him could not conceal it ſelf, all their murmurings were turned into reproaches and complaints againſt their Officers, that they had not marched them ſoon enough, they curſed their ſloath, and ſpent whole days upon the rocks of the Coaſt, in looking if they could ſee the Veſſels returning for their Embarkment. *Cæſar* for his part was as much uneaſie; he had

had written at first to *Calenus* the danger he had in passing; all the Coast being possessed with the Enemies Vessels, and that advice saved his Troops; for *Calenus* having caused them to Embark on board those Vessels which he had left, *Cæsar*'s Letter obliged him to stay, and one onely Vessel that mistook his orders, fell into the hands of *Bibulus*, who again caused all that were on board to be slain, to terrify others by that example. At last *Bibulus* dying of an illness which he got at Sea, leaving no Commander in chief to succeed him, the Guards began not to be kept so exactly as before. *Cæsar* saw that opportunity favourable for the passing of his Troops, and was almost despairing that they were not arrived so soon as he would have had them, for he had written several times. At last his impatience drove him upon an action which nothing could excuse but the confidence which he always had in his good Fortune, neither has he made any mention of it in his Commentaries, nor of another Action of his, which *Suetonius* takes notice of, where he underwent no less danger, but had more necessity for it. It was thus, the *Gauls* having in his absence besieged his Legions, he took a Gallick habit, and in that disguise went through the *Corps du Guard*, and the whole Enemies Army to come to his Camp, and it is very remarkable, that this General who could so freely hazard his own Person, never marched his Army but with the greatest caution imaginable,

ble, and after having firſt exactly informed himſelf of all the Defiles and other paſſages that were upon his way. *Cæſar* therefore now diſguiſed in the habit of a Slave, without making any of his people acquainted with his deſign, put himſelf on board a Fiſher-mans Bark that was in the mouth of the River *Apſe*, they were to go out that night, and his deſign being, when they were out at Sea, to make them row directly to *Brunduſium*, they went away at the beginning of the night, but a ſtiff gale of wind blowing in upon the mouth of the River, made the Sea very rough in that place, the Maſter of the Bark made ſeveral attempts, with his Mariners to row out to Sea, but as the ſtorm and the wind encreaſed, he ordered to forbear. *Cæſar* onely oppoſed this deſign, and becauſe the man was afraid of the danger, of a ſudden diſcovering himſelf, and ſeeing that the Fiſherman knew him, *Fear nothing*, ſays he, *for thou carrieſt* Cæſar *and his Fortune.* The Mariners encouraged by *Cæſar*'s preſence, behaved themſelves ſo well, that they overcame the violence of the waves, but the Sea was ſo rough, and ſo high without the mouth of the River, that they imagined they muſt be all loſt, and were at laſt forced to return to land. *Cæſar* went back to his Camp, where his Souldiers running in whole ſhoals to his Tent, with a great deal of tenderneſs reproached him, ſaying, *That he diſgrac'd them by going to ſeek out new Forces to fight the Enemy which they had before them,*

them, whom they were ſure they had ſtrength and courage enough to overcome whenever he would vouchſafe to put himſelf at the head of them.

CHAP. XXXV.

The happy arrival of Cæſar's *Troops in* Greece. Cælius *and* Milo *raiſing diſturbances in* Italy, *are ſlain.*

IT was not without reaſon that *Cæſar* was ſo diſquieted for his Troops in *Italy*. *Scribonius Libo*, was gone from *Orica* with 50 Ships under his Command, and poſted himſelf in an Iſland near *Brunduſium*, where he ſeized upon ſeveral Merchant Ships which were in the Road, he made alſo ſeveral deſcents into the main land, and with ſucceſs, upon this advantage he ſent word to *Pompey*, that with his Fleet onely he could hinder *Cæſar*'s Troops from paſſing into *Epirus*, and that in the mean while the other Veſſels might be refitted. *Cæſar* had alſo received other news from *Rome*, which made him very uneaſie. *Cælius*, of whom I have ſpoken before, being diſcontented, with that Party in which his hatred to *Attius*, and *Curio*'s Friendſhip had embarked him, ſought all occaſions to act againſt the Ordinances of *Cæſar*. He was Pretor, with *Trebonius*, whom *Cæſar* had put into Commiſſion for taking the eſtimate of the inheritances; *Cælius* proclaimed that he was ready to receive the complaints

complaints of all ſuch as had received any injury, and that he was ready to doe them juſtice: very few came to make their Complaints, and all Senatours oppoſed the undertaking, which obliged him to leave *Rome* under pretence of going to find out *Cæſar*, but it was to join himſelf with *Milo*, who was returned into *Italy*, and had gathered together a great number of Gladiatours and Peaſants, they reported what they did was by order from *Pompey*, but *Cæſar*'s good Fortune delivered him at one blow from this inconvenience, *Milo* and *Cælius* being killed at the ſame time. *Milo* beſieging a little Town in *Calabria*, and *Cælius* by ſome Gallick and Spaniſh Cavalry whom he would have perſuaded to deſert. *Antonius* and *Calenus*, put *Libo* alſo to flight from before *Brunduſium*, after having taken one of his Gallies, with thoſe Shallops that belong'd to their Veſſels fortified with Hurdles in the manner of a Parrapet, and Manned with good Souldiers. Then they Embarked their Troops, and departed from *Brunduſium*, the weather being very fair, and the wind South. *Cæſar* had written very earneſtly to them upon this occaſion, and commanded them to come and land at *Apollonia*, they made their paſſage in a days time, and when they were arrived within ſight of *Apollonia*, and *Durazzo*, *Coponius* went out with the Rhodian Squadron which he commanded, to hinder their coming in. The wind was favourable to *Cæſar*'s People, and began to encreaſe in the

the moment that the Enemy appeared. *Coponius* was nevertheleſs reſolved to follow them, and *Cæſar*'s Generals, who were for avoiding a fight at Sea, put themſelves into the Haven of *Nimphis*, three miles above *Liſſo*. This Haven was ſheltred from the South-Eaſt wind, but was expoſed to the South, and by extraordinary good Fortune, the wind which had been at South for two days together, changed to the South-Eaſt in the very moment that they caſt Anchor, ſo thoſe of *Cæſar* got ſafe into a good Haven, and *Coponius*'s Squadron was driven upon the Coaſt with ſo much violence, that all his Veſſels periſhed, the Souldiers and Seamen were moſt of them drowned, and the reſt fell into *Cæſar*'s hands, who afterwards gave them their liberty. Two of *Antonius*'s Ships, who could not follow the reſt, came to an Anchor near *Liſſo*, whom *Ottacilius Craſſus*, who Commanded for *Pompey*, cauſed to be attacked with Shallops, and other little Boats. One of the Ships had in her 220 new raiſed Levies, and the other 200 old Souldiers, the new raiſed men being terrified with the number of the Enemy, ſurrendred themſelves to *Ottacilius* upon his Parole, who nevertheleſs with horrid perfidy, put them all to the Sword; but the Veterans amuſing the Enemy by a feigned Capitulation, made the Seamen run their Veſſel a ſhore, where they ſaved themſelves, and after having repulſed and beaten ſix hundred Horſe, whom *Ottacilius* ſent againſt them, they went and joi-

ned

ned themſelves with *Antonius*: The City of *Liſſo* alſo revolted againſt *Ottacilius*, who retreated towards *Pompey*, leaving the place to *Antonius*, who immediately took it into his poſſeſſion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Marcus Antonius *joins himſelf with* Cæſar *in ſpight of* Pompey, *who retreats to* Aſpargua *near* Durazzo.

Antonius had with him three old Legions, two Legions of new raiſed Souldiers, and eight hundred Horſe. He ſent his Ships into *Italy* to tranſport the reſt of the Troops, and kept onely his flat bottomed Boats at *Liſſo*, which were a ſort of Veſſels the *Gauls* were wont to make uſe of, to the end that if *Pompey* ſhould have a deſign of putting to Sea, *Cæſar* might be in a condition to follow him. Then *Antonius* gave him an account of his arrival, and where he was. *Pompey* at the ſame time learned the news by thoſe who had ſeen the Ships under Sail before *Durazzo*. Theſe two Generals were encamped upon the River of *Apſe*, and as their Camps were onely ſeparated by that River, the Souldiers had frequent Parley's, which occcaſioned the laſt Propoſitions that ever were made for an Ac-

Accommodation. *Vibullius Rufus*, when *Cæſar* ſent him, had made the firſt overture, but *Pompey* by the advice of *Libo*, of *Luceius*, and a certain Greek named *Theophanes*, who was his chief Confident, ſtood out upon a point of Honour, at that time ſomething unſeaſonable, (at leaſt, if we may believe *Cæſar* in his Commentaries) ſaying, *That he could not bear the thinking that his life and his return to* Rome *ſhould appear to the world as a favour beſtowed upon him by* Cæſar. Nevertheleſs *Vatinius*, *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant, endeavoured to renew the Conference upon the River of *Apſe*; and on *Pompey*'s behalf, *Varro* had promiſed there ſhould be a Meeting to that purpoſe. All the Lieutenant-Generals of both Parties agreed upon a day for Conference; when they came to the place appointed, *Labienus* advanced, and after having ſpoke ſomething upon the Subject they were to treat of, he was interrupted by a great number of Arrows and other Darts, which were ſhot at *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants. *Vatinius* was ſheltered by the Bucklers of the Souldiers who were with him, but *Cornelius Balbus*, *Plotius*, and *Tiburtius*, were wounded, and *Labienus* cryed out with great inſolence, *That it was to no purpoſe to ſpeak farther of peace, if they brought not with them the head of* Cæſar: This is what he himſelf hath reported, and that from this moment he thought of nothing but War, this happened ſome time before the coming of *Antonius*, ſo the two Generals decamped in the ſame day. *Cæſar*

to

to join himſelf with *Antonius*, and *Pompey* to hinder him. He had no River to paſs as *Cæſar* had, but went and poſted himſelf in a place which he thought moſt proper for an Ambuſcade, which he laid for *Antonius*, but he being adviſed of it by the Greeks of the Countrey, entrenched himſelf in a Poſt, where he ſtayed and expected *Cæſar*, who ſoon after arrived; and *Pompey* fearing to be hemmed in between the two Armies, retreated to *Aſpargua*, near *Durazzo*, leaving *Antonius* the liberty of joining *Cæſar*, which he did the ſame day. So *Cæſar* and *Pompey* at the head of all their Troops were in a readineſs to diſpute the Empire of the world, and all the glory which they both had gotten in War, and as they have obſcured the luſtre and reputation of all thoſe who went before them, and as their names to this day are made uſe of, when ever we would deſcribe the qualifications of an able General. The account of all their proceedings cannot but afford us great uſe as well as pleaſure: We have here taken it out of the Commentaries of *Cæſar*, who as far as we are able to judge, has reported it with all ſincerity.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Cæſar *offers Battel to* Pompey, *who refuſes it. They both poſt themſelves near* Durazzo. Cæſar *hemmed in by the lines of* Pompey's *Camp.*

CÆſar (after having drawn together all his Army, and knowing that *Pompey* was at *Aſpargua*) marched directly towards him, and in his paſſage forced a Burrough Town, where *Pompey* had left a Garriſon. After three days march he came in ſight of the Enemies Camp, and fortified his own, from whence the next day he drew out all his Troops to offer Battel to *Pompey*, who refuſed it, and came not forth. *Cæſar* knew from that moment that he muſt take other meaſures. So he decamped the next day to go towards *Durazzo*, and though he was forced to march by certain Defiles, which were very incommodious; he had two deſigns, either to reduce *Pompey* to ſhut himſelf up in *Durazzo*, or to cut off his paſſage thither, foraſmuch as all his Proviſions and Equipage of War was there, which laſt deſign in part ſucceeded. *Pompey* believed at the firſt by the motion of *Cæſar*'s Troops, that they were forced to draw off for want of Proviſions; but when he underſtood his deſign by his Spies, and thoſe whom he ſent to make incurſions into the Countrey; The next day he began to march, hoping that he might prevent the Enemy by a ſhorter way than

than that which they had been forced to make uſe of. But *Cæſar* having foreſeen what might happen, and incouraging his Souldiers by his words and his own Example, left them onely a ſmall part of the night to reſt themſelves in, and arrived the next morning under the Walls of *Durazzo*, when they began to diſcover the Van of *Pompey*'s Army, who immediately calling a Council of War, went and poſſeſſed himſelf of a Hill called *Petra*, which commanded the Sea, and under which there was a ſmall ſhelter for Ships, where very few winds could come to annoy them. They both immediately intrenched themſelves in the Poſts they had taken. *Pompey* cauſed a party of his Ships to come under his Camp, and immediately ſent into *Aſia*, and the other Countries which held for him, to fetch Proviſions and Ammunition; *Cæſar* perceiving then that the War might in all likelyhood laſt long, that he had very little Corn, and that his places of Retreat on the Coaſts of *Italy* and *Spain* were very uncertain, ſent *Canuleius* one of his Lieutenants into *Epirus*: He cauſed Magazines to be lodged from place to place, in regard that Province was a great way off, and ordered all the Neighbouring Towns to come out and work at the Carriages; Moreover he cauſed what Corn could be found in the Iſland, in the Burrough Towns of the *Parthians*, and all the other Caſtles, to be brought in to him. But as that Soil could furniſh him with very

little (*Pompey* having already ruined all thoſe places, and taken away the Corn,) the ſuccours proved to be but very inconſiderable. This put *Cæſar* upon a deſign which he conceived might be feaſible from the nature and diſpoſition of the ground. All round *Pompey*'s Camp there were certain little Hills that were high and hard to climb, theſe *Cæſar* poſſeſſed himſelf of, and built Towers upon them in the nature of Redoubts, then cauſing lines of Communication to be drawn from Mountain to Mountain, or other works according to the diſpoſition of the place, endeavoured by that circumvallation to block up *Pompey*. *Pompey* on his part endeavoured to extend himſelf, and take in as much of the Countrey as was poſſible with the length of his Works, which he carried on very far, fortifying from Hill to Hill, ſo that with four and twenty Redoubts he poſſeſſed a ſpace of 15000 paces, where his Cavalry found Forrage, and where alſo there were abundance of Fields ſown with Corn; We ſhall not undertake to judge of the Conduct of theſe great Men ſo raſhly as other Authours have done, who have declared that all thoſe Works were of no uſe nor advantage; for they had both of them their particular reaſons for what they did, and *Cæſar* has reported ſome of his, ſaying, *That his deſign was to cut off from* Pompey*'s Cavalry the liberty of going out in Parties, for that they were more in number than his, and might very much incommode his Convoy's, take from him the convenieney*

of

of Forrage, and by that means render them unfit for ſervice. Beſides, his buſineſs was to beat down that high eſteem which kept up Pompey's *Party amongſt the Nations that were Strangers, when all the world ſhould know that he was inveſted by* Cæſar, *and that he durſt not venture the hazard of a Battel.* For it was that which *Pompey* could by no means be brought to, nor to go far from the Sea, from whence he had all his Proviſions, nor from *Durazzo*, where were all his Engines, his Darts and other Ammunitions of War; and in fine, it appears with great likelyhood that theſe Leaders both of them accompliſhed in the Art of War, and inſtructed by long experience of the many advantages which a ſudden occaſion well managed might offer, eſpecially between two Armies ſo near to one another, were both of them watchfull for the firſt opportunity. In effect, as *Cæſar*'s Men dayly carried on their Works to prevent their being attacked in their Rere, thoſe of *Pompey* did the ſame to enlarge themſelves, and hinder the Enemy from aſſaulting them upon the Flancks. They had the advantage in number; beſides, theirs being the innermoſt circumvallation, was not extended ſo far as *Cæſar*'s. And though *Pompey* avoided a general Battel, nevertheleſs he dayly ſent out his Archers and Slingers againſt the Enemy, which obliged *Cæſar*'s Souldiers to make certain Blinds with Clothes and Skins for their defence againſt the Arrows.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A fight between Cæsar *and* Pompey's *Troops.*

Cæsar applied himself principally to shut up the Enemy with his lines, who on their part endeavoured the gaining more ground, which was the reason that no day passed without some encounter or other. *Cæsar*'s ninth Legion had taken possession of an advanced ground, where they began to fortify themselves, when from a Neighbouring eminence almost level with it, *Pompey* sent his Lancers against that Legion, and then caused his light armed Souldiers to advance with Engines, wherewith he played upon those that wrought. Therefore as it was a very hard task for *Cæsar*'s Souldiers to fight and work both at the same time, and considering how they were battered on every side, he resolved to draw them off, but as he was to make his retreat by the steep part of the Mountain it proved a business very nice and dangerous. The Enemy, who believed that their fear was the occasion of their retreat, became more fierce, and prest them so much the closer; and it has been observed, that *Pompey* was so far transported, as to say, *That he would be contented to be thought no Souldier, if* Cæsar's *Legions got off from that place where they had so rashly engaged themselves without loss.* Nevertheless, this was *Cæsar*'s design, he caused a great many Hurdles to

be

be brought and planted towards the front of the Enemy, upon the bending of the hill; behind theſe, he ordered the throwing up of a little Ditch, and all the Avenues to be intangled and filled up with cumberſome matter, after this, he drew up his Slingers to favour the retreat, and marched his Legions through their intervals. This proceeding augmented the fury of *Pompey*'s Souldiers, who had already thrown down the Hurdles to paſs the Ditch, when *Cæſar* gave the word of Command to face about, and after that *Antonius*, who Commanded that Legion, had exhorted them to behave themſelves well, he Commanded to ſound a charge, and attack thoſe that were come over; the Souldiers at their cloſe order diſcharged their Javelins, and running up with their Swords in their hands, drove back thoſe of *Pompey*, and put them to flight. The Ditch, the Hurdles, and the other incumbrances incommoded them very much, and was the occaſion that a great many of them periſhed; but *Cæſar*'s Men being contented to have ſecured their Retreat, returned back, after having killed a great number of the Enemy, and onely loſt five Men of their own. This manner of making War from Mountain to Mountain, was doubtleſs very extraordinary, and the deſign of that ſort of ſiege was no otherways, for *Cæſar* undertook to beſiege an Enemy, who was much ſtronger than himſelf, and who had Proviſions and Ammunitions in abundance, when his

own Men at the ſame time were reduced to the greateſt extremity imaginable, at leaſt for want of Corn, though *Epirus* had furniſhed them with fleſh, nevertheleſs they bore all with moſt admirable conſtancy, contenting themſelves with Beans and Barley, moreover, they found the way of making Bread with a Root called *Chara*, which they mingled with Milk, and ſome of this they often threw amongſt *Pompey*'s Souldiers, ſaying, *That they would rather eat the Barks of Trees, than let* Pompey *eſcape, whom they had now in their power.* He was extremely ſurpriſed at it, and ſaid, *That he did not think he had had wild Beaſts to deal withall.* Neither was he without his inconveniences; his Cavalry began to ſuffer for want of Forrage, both the Beaſts and the Men dying in his Camp, had corrupted the air, and ingendred Diſeaſes; beſides, they wanted water, for *Cæſar* had either ſtopt or turned the courſe of the Rivers which uſed to ſupply them, his own Men having it in all abundance, and enjoying a very good air, ſo that the advantages and diſadvantages being equally diſtributed between the two Armies, they paſſed no day without enterpriſing ſomething or other. *Pompey* had obſerved by the lights which were every night ſet up in *Cæſar*'s Fortifications, where his Souldiers kept their Guard, then cauſing ſome Archers to advance in the dark, ſhot flights of Arrows into the Fortifications, that wounded a great many Men, but for this inconveniency they

ſoon

ſoon found a remedy, they made their Fires in one place, and poſted their Corps du Guard in another. But as theſe little Skirmiſhes ſignified nothing to the main matter, *Pompey* reſolved not to defer it to the laſt extremity; and knowing that *Caſar* was one night gone from his Camp for the management of ſome Intelligence which he had in *Durazzo*, went that very night, with the beſt part of his Troops, to attack a Caſtle which was near *Cæſar*'s Camp, and defended by one Cohort, while he cauſed ſix other attacks to be made at the ſame time in different places.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Pompey *attacks* Cæſar's *Fortifications*; *the Valour of* Sceva. Pompey *quits his Camp*; *the Treaſon of* Roſcillus *and* Ægus.

Cæſar's Men, notwithſtanding their being ſurpriſed, defended themſelves beyond imagination; and though they were overwhelmed with Darts and Arrows, though four Centurions had loſt each of them an eye, and that all the Souldiers, without exception, were wounded, nevertheleſs, unequal as it was, they maintained the Fight for above fifteen hours. *Sceva*, one of the Centurions, who defended the Caſtle-gate, being wounded in the eye, in the ſhoulder and the thigh, ſtretched out his hand to the Enemy, as if he made ſign of ſurrendring himſelf, and as two of their Officers advanced towards him, he attacked them both with his Sword, one after another; All the Souldiers behaved themſelves with the ſame Courage; ſo that *Sylla*, who commanded the Camp in *Cæſar*'s abſence, had time enough, with two Legions, to come up to their ſuccour. *Pompey*'s Troops were not able to bear the firſt charge; And it is believed, that had *Sylla* followed his advantage, he might have totally routed them in their Retreat: but as the duty of a Lieutenant is very different from that of a Captain-General, in conſideration that one never acts but by Limited Orders, when

when the other is at liberty to proceed according to the beſt of his Judgment. *Cæſar* himſelf excuſed him for being contented to have repulſed the Enemy and cleared the Fortifications: There was found within the place Thirty thouſand Arrows, which they preſented to *Cæſar* when he came back, with the Buckler of *Sceva*, which had been pierced with Two hundred and thirty ſhots. *Cæſar*, according to his uſual manner, Careſſed extremely all the Souldiers of that Cohort; he cauſed their proportions of Bread and their Pay to be doubled, and gave almoſt to all of them Bracelets, Piles and other marks of honour: as for *Sceva*, he had given him for reward Two thouſand Crowns, and was advanced from the Eighth Company to the Command of the Firſt. *Pompey* drew not his Troops far off from the Caſtle, onely encamping himſelf where the Darts could not reach him; in all his different Attacks he had loſt Two thouſand Men, and Six Enſigns; ſo he made, in a ſhort time, good Works round his Camp, as Redoubts and Ditches, of Fifteen foot broad, fortified with Palliſadoes towards the Enemy; and at laſt, after having cauſed the Entrances into his Camp to be filled up, he choſe a very dark night, and retreated with all his Troops into his old Trenches. *Cæſar*, incouraged by this good ſucceſs, went every day and preſented him Battel within view of his Lines; and though *Pompey* drew out alſo in Battalia, nevertheleſs he always kept his Troops under defence of

his

his Ramparts, where *Cæſar* did not think fit to attack him. *Pompey* had ſent all his Cavalry by Shipping to *Durazzo*, for their ſubſiſtence, and to try to incommode the Enemy, by making Incurſions. But *Cæſar* poſſeſſed himſelf of the two Avenues, by which onely he could ſend out parties; ſo *Pompey* was forced to order their return to the Camp, by the ſame way that they went; and here indeed they ſuffered much, the Horſes being forced to eat Reeds and Leaves ſhaken together, which made them very lean; and the Horſemen themſelves had much ado to ſubſiſt, by reaſon that every thing being conſumed within, they were forced to fetch their Proviſions from very far. So their General reſolved to make one attempt for all to force the Trenches. *Roſcillus* and *Ægus*, the Sons of *Albuſcillus*, a Man of the firſt quality in *Savoy*, had ſerved under *Cæſar* ever ſince the *Gallick* War, where they had behaved themſelves very well, nor were they ill rewarded for it. For beſides the Senatorian Dignity which he had beſtowed upon them, they had received great marks of his acknowledgment, and were grown very rich; Theſe two Men relying upon the Friendſhip of their General, and puffed up with a fooliſh and barbarous arrogance, treated all their under Officers with contempt, cheated their Souldiers of their Pay, and whatſoever Booty their Troops met with, ſtill kept it to themſelves. This obliged the Men to make their Complaints to *Cæſar*, acquainting him alſo, that though they

they might have received full Pay, their Troops were never Completed. *Cæsar* believing this no fit time to make examples in, and that ſomething ought to be allowed in conſideration of the merit of theſe two Brothers, neglected the taking any notice of the matter, but did not forget privately to tell them his opinion, and aſſure them, it would be more for their advantage to ſerve him well. Theſe two men, provoked by this Remonſtrance, and believing that though he ſlipt it now, he might take another opportunity to reſent their ill conduct, reſolved to quit his Service, and go over to the Enemies Camp. So after having unſucceſsfully attempted to kill *Voluſenus* the General of the Cavalry, they borrowed what Money they could, and carrying away a great many Horſes, went and ſurrendred themſelves to *Pompey*, who received them with as much Joy, as upon ſo extraordinary an occaſion might be expected; none of *Cæsar*'s Souldiers having yet come over to *Pompey*, though every day ſome of his took party with *Cæsar*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

Pompey *attacks* Cæſar's *Trenches: great diſorder amongſt* Cæſar's *Troops; he confirms them by his preſence.*

THE *Savoyards* who knew where *Cæſar*'s Trenches were weakeſt, inſtructed *Pompey* in the particulars of it, which confirmed him in that deſign he had before reſolved upon. He cauſed Helmets of Ozier-twigs to be made for all his Souldiers, and commanded they ſhould fall to digging of Turff; when this was done he put a great number of Archers and Light-armed Foot on board the Merchant Ships and Shallops; At the ſame time he carried Sixty Cohorts, which he drew out of his Camp and his Fortifications, to that part of *Cæſar*'s Trenches which was neareſt the Sea, and fartheſt from the General's Quarters. At the ſame time the Veſſels who brought the Turff and the Light-armed Foot came aſhore in the ſame place; * Cornelius *Lentulus Marcellinus* the Queſtor Commanded there for *Cæſar*, but he being indiſpoſed, *Poſthumus* gave Orders under him. That ſide of the Rampart which looked towards the Enemy was Ten foot high, and as many broad, with a Ditch of Fifteen foot; and *Cæſar* having foreſeen that *Pompey* might, by Sea, make ſome attempt upon that Poſt, had cauſed another to be thrown up, parallel to it, Five hundred Paces diſtance, but it was not

not indeed altogether ſo deep. His deſign was to have made a third, which ſhould have joined them both upon the Sea-ſide; But it ſeeming ſo cruel a thing to him to haraſs the Souldiers, wearied with throwing up Works, which already took up Nineteen thouſand Paces of Ground, hindred his putting of it in execution. In the meanwhile this negligence had like to have coſt him his Fortune and all his Reputation. *Pompey* had notice of this fault by the *Savoyards*, ſo at break of day he came with all thoſe Forces I mentioned, to attack the Cohorts of the ninth Legion which were upon the Guard at the Sea-ſide. They were ſurpriſed with the Light-armed Foot and Archers from the Ships, who immediately ſurrounded and attacked them with flights of Arrows. The Ditches were filled with the Turff which *Pompey* had cauſed to be brought thither, ſo his Legionaries planted their Ladders againſt the Rampart, and with their Darts and their Engines overthrew thoſe that defended it: The Helmets of Ozier which they had defended them from the fall of Stones, which were the onely Arms that *Caeſar*'s Men could make uſe of upon this occaſion: ſo theſe Souldiers being attacked on every ſide, and ſeeing that the Enemy advanced to hem them in by that part of the Entrenchment which was not Fortified, quitted their Poſts and turned their backs. *Marcellinus* hearing what had happened, ordered ſome Cohorts to March to their Relief; but the fear and confuſion of thoſe who fled from the

the Camp, infected them alſo; and all the other Troops which were ſent to their aſſiſtence ſerved onely to add to their diſorder. All the Officers of the firſt Cohort were loſt upon this occaſion, except the eldeſt Centurion. He who carried the Eagle of the Legion, ſeeing himſelf mortally wounded, calling to him ſome Horſemen; *I have*, ſaid he, *for many years preſerved this Enſign with the hazard of my life, and now I am dying, with the ſame affection I reſtore it unto* Cæſar, *do not let it be loſt by a misfortune, which is not yet come upon us, but ſave it to return it to* Cæſar. So the Standard was preſerved, but the ſlaughter every where was great. In the meanwhile *Pompey* drawing near to *Marcellinus* his Camp, where the fear had already got poſſeſſion, *Antonius* appeared hard by, upon an advanced ground, with Twelve Cohorts, which *Pompey* perceiving made a halt, and *Cæſar*'s Troops began to take heart again: *Cæſar* arrived a moment after with the other Cohorts, and by cauſing every where thick ſmoaks to be made, gave the ſignal that Relief was coming. And when he ſaw that *Pompey*, who was retired, had forced thoſe Lines, whereby he thought to ſhut him up, he found it convenient to change his deſign, and immediately cauſed a Poſt to be fortified near the Sea, there to encamp himſelf, to the end that he might have the liberty of Forrage, and reception for his Shipping.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

Cæſar, *in a great Battel, is overthrown:* Pompey *loſes the opportunity of totally routing him.* Cæſar's *opinion upon that occaſion.*

AS theſe Entrenchments were almoſt completed, his Scouts brought him word that there was a Legion Marching on the back-ſide of the Wood to take poſſeſſion of *Pompey*'s old Camp. To comprehend this we muſt underſtand, that after the Ninth Legion (as we before obſerved) had made head againſt *Pompey*'s Troops, and repulſed them with advantage, *Caſar* had poſted himſelf in the place where that action was done; The Camp reached as far as a Wood, and was not above Four hundred paces from the Sea. Some days after *Caſar* had quitted that Poſt, and *Pompey* took poſſeſſion of it. And becauſe he had more Legions, he onely cauſed another Cover to be made to the firſt Camp, without ruining the old Fortifications; ſo this little Camp ſerved onely for a Platform or Cittadel to the great one. He alſo cauſed a Line to be drawn from the left Angle of his Camp about Four hundred paces, as far as the River, for a paſſage to the Water in ſafety; but a little time after he alſo changed his deſign, and quitted that Poſt, the lines whereof were ſtill ſtanding. This was the place whither that Legion was Marching; *Caſar*'s Sentinels gave him an account of it;

and those who from the Hills had observed the motion, confirming the News, he believed that fortune presented him with this occasion to repair the loss he had before sustained; so leaving onely two Cohorts to make a shew upon the Ramparts, he Marched in all secrecy with 33 Cohorts, in which number was the Ninth Legion, although it had lost a great many Souldiers and Officers. His Army was upon two Lines, and he upon the Left Wing. All things succeeded immediately as he expected, he arrived at the Camp before *Pompey* could have any notice of it; and the Wing which he headed Charging fiercely upon the Rampart, put those who defended it to flight. The Battel was very fierce at the entrance, which was filled with Turnpikes. *Puleio*, he who betrayed *Cajus Antonius*'s Army, defended it with extraordinary Valour, but at last *Cæsar*'s Men carried it merely by their Courage, and having broke the Turnpikes in pieces, they entred within the first Fortification, and afterwards attacked the Platform whither the Legion was retreated; a great many were killed in this place; and the Action had been very fine, and of great advantage, if Fortune, who loves to shew the power which she usurpes over all things, and especially in War, had not proved unconstant. The Cohorts of *Cæsar*'s Right Wing searching for the entrance into the Camp, followed the outside of that Trench which led them to the River, believing that it was the Rampart of

the

the Camp, when perceiving their Errour, they put themſelves upon the Rampart, and as there was no body there to defend it, paſſed eaſily; all the Cavalry followed theſe Cohorts, ſeeking for breaches to enter. This unhappy proceeding gave *Pompey* time to come to their ſuccour with the Fifth Legion, putting all his Cavalry before him; ſo that both parts of the Camp which was attacked, at the ſame time diſcover'd *Pompey* Marching Embattelled with his Legions. At ſight of this every thing began to change; the Legion that was beſieged, by the hope of this Succour, recovered ſo much courage as to make a Sally and Charge thoſe of *Cæſar*. His Cavalry finding themſelves diſordered in paſſing the Ramparts, thought of nothing but how to ſave themſelves; and his right and left wing being ſeparated, were equally terrified with ſeeing the Horſe upon the flight, and fearing to be cut in pieces in that ſtrait place, hurried through the breaches of the Ramparts with ſo much diſorder, that a great many falling headlong into the Ditches, the others paſſed over them to ſave themſelves. The Souldiers of the left wing, ſeeing the Succours of *Pompey*, the overthrow of their Friends, and the Enemy before and behind them, ſought to return through the place where they entred. At laſt, nothing but diſorder, fear and a total rout was every where to be ſeen; ſo that in ſpight of all *Cæſar*'s endeavours himſelf, to retain the Enſigns which fled, abundance of them forſook him, their Colours,

Horſes and all, and run away on Foot. One amongſt the reſt, an able and ſtrong Man, but confounded with the fear he was in, turned upon him the point of his Launce, and had certainly killed him, if his Maſter of the Horſe, at one blow, had not cut off his arm. At laſt, a Party of *Pompey*'s Horſe appearing at the entrance of the Camp, forced them to make head in that place. *Pompey* purſued his Victory as far as *Cæſar*'s very Camp, but durſt not attack it, in which he committed a fault which coſt him dear in the conſequence. *Cæſar* avouches, *That his Army might have been entirely overthrown upon that occaſion:* and farther adds, *That he had been loſt without redreſs, could* Pompey *have known how to have made uſe of the Victory:* For this he gives three Reaſons, *That* Pompey *was afraid of falling into an Ambuſcade; That his Cavalry amuſed themſelves too long with deſiring to force the entrance into the Trenches; And that that defeat happening beyond his hopes, he knew not immediately how to take the right courſe:* To this we may add, That in all likelihood *Pompey*'s Troops ſuffered themſelves to be deluded, that in ſpight of him they would follow the Runaways, and that he would not engage himſelf to attack *Cæſar*'s Camp, knowing well, that he left behind him a brave and daring Enemy, with a great part of his Forces.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII.

Cæſar's *diſcourſe to his Troops to confirm them; he Decamps to March toward* Theſſaly. Pompey *follows him.*

CÆſar loſt a great many Men upon theſe two occaſions, which happened both in the ſame day. Some have given an account of Nine hundred and ſixty Souldiers, Thirty two Enſigns, and a great many excellent Officers; amongſt others *Tuticanus* and *Felginas*, who were both *Gauls*; another *Felginas* of *Plaïſance*, *Gravius Sacrativir*, and Thirty Tribunes or Centurions. *Pompey* and his whole Party were much encouraged with the Victory, and ſent the News of it over all the World, reporting, That *Cæſar* was totally routed, and with what miſerable Troops he had left, fled before them. It is true indeed, that reflecting upon his conduct, he paſſed the next night not very pleaſantly. But as he underſtood the valour of his Souldiers, and knowing that the diſorder was occaſioned by themſelves, and not by the vigour of the Enemy; having beſides been uſed to the changeableneſs of Fortune, and the effects of a panick Fear, where an unſeaſonable apprehenſion intangles the greateſt Armies, and the diſorders, which the Imprudence of a General Officer, or the negligence of any particular Commander may produce, he would not ſuffer himſelf to loſe either his courage

or his hopes, but he imagined that it might be proper wholly to change the manner of that War, and to speak to his Souldiers. Therefore he caused them to quit the Fortifications all at the same time; and when he had re-assembled them. *I see nothing* (says he) *in this occasion, which ought to trouble you; and after so many Battels, wherein ye have won glory and advantage, gallant Men ought not to be discouraged with a little disgrace. We ought to thank Fortune for our Conquest of all* Italy, *which cost us not a wound; for our subduing* Spain, *possessed by powerfull Armies, under experienced and able Commanders, and reducing so easily those rich and fertile Provinces which now lie round us. Remember still the good Fortune ye had in passing the Sea to come hither, even through the Fleets of your Enemies, when not onely the Havens, but the very Rivers too were taken up by their Troops. If in this last encounter Fortune seemed to have forsaken us, correct her Capriciousness by your own Valour and Industry; For it is easie to perceive, that her fault, and not your own, has brought upon us the present misfortune; the place of Battel was well chosen, ye carried the Enemies Camp at the first onset; ye beat and put them to flight with your Swords in your hands; and if one little disorder, one errour of Inadvertency, or indeed if destiny it self has deprived us of the advantage we had gotten, ye ought to endeavour to recover it by your proper virtue; so this Misfortune shall turn to your glory as it did in* Gergoria; *and those who in this Battel have shewn the least fear, shall be the first to charge the Enemy in the next.* After

ter this Harangue he Caſhiered ſome Enſigns, but he had not need to make any other examples; For the Souldiers offered, and would voluntarily have undertaken great Labours to puniſh themſelves. They deſired a Battel, where they might either all die, or be revenged. Some of the Chief Officers were of opinion, that this eagerneſs ought to be made uſe of: But *Cæſar* thought otherwiſe; ſo he commanded his Baggage, with all the Sick and Wounded, to March in the beginning of the night towards *Apolonia*. He gave them one Legion for their Convoy, with order to make no ſtop till they came to the place. Theſe orders being executed, retaining two Legions in his Camp, at Three a Clock in the Morning he cauſed all the other Legions to March out by the Avenues and follow the Baggage; and a little while after, making the uſual Cries, according to the Cuſtome of Military Diſcipline at that time, he departed at the head of his Two Legions, to join the Body of his Army, which he did with all ſpeed. *Pompey*, when he knew the deſign of his Enemy, loſt no time, he quitted his Camp with all his Army, and ſent his Cavalry full ſpeed to put a ſtop to *Cæſar*'s Troops. But as they were gone a great way before, and Marched without Baggage, *Pompey*'s Cavalry came not up to them till the end of the Journey, at the paſſage of the River *Genuſa*. *Cæſar* oppoſed them with his Horſe, and Four hundred others of his beſt Souldiers, mingled in their Ranks, who made great havock

amongſt *Pompey*'s Men, and forced them to retreat: ſo he paſſed the River, and went and Poſted himſelf in his old Camp near *Aſparagium*; he kept all his Infantry at their Arms in the Trenches, and ſent out his Horſe to Forage, with orders to return again with what ſpeed they could. *Pompey* alſo came and took poſſeſſion of his old Camp near *Aſparagium*. And his Souldiers having no Fortifications to make in a place ſo well Entrenched as that was, went out, ſome to fetch in Wood and Proviſions, others, who in the haſte of their departure, had forgotten ſomething in the other Camp, which was not far off, after having laid down their Arms, returned again thither. *Cæſar*, who imagined ſemething like this might happen, decamped the next day at Noon, and preſſing his Troops hard, had Marched them Eight miles, before *Pompey* could be in a condition to follow him: the next morning *Cæſar* departed again at break of day, always cauſing his Baggage to March before, that nothing might incommode the order of his Army. This method he uſed the days following, and by that means got over the Rivers and difficult paſſages without the loſs of any of his Men; for though *Pompey* followed him with extreme diligence, the advantage of being a day before him, and the inconveniency of his Baggage forced him, upon the fourth day, to give over the unſucceſsfull perſuit.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

Cæſar *goes into* Apolonia, Domitius *joins himſelf with him, the taking of* Gomphes *and* Metropolis.

Cæſar was forced to go to *Apolonia* to diſpoſe there of his ſick Men to muſter his Army, and leave ſome Troops in their Quarters, by that means to ſecure his Allies, ſpending no more time in this Voyage than was abſolutely neceſſary for a man who had other buſineſs upon his hands, he feared leſt *Pompey* might ſurpriſe *Domitius Calvinus*, one of his Lieutenants, who was in *Macedonia* with three Legions, accompanied with *Caſſius Langinus*. They had thoughts of *Metellus Scipio*, *Pompey*'s Brother-in-Law, who Commanded the Legions of *Syria* with *Favonius* and other Officers, and had often endeavoured to engage them upon ſome advantage. Now *Cæſar*'s deſign was either to draw *Pompey* far from the Sea, and force him to a Battel, or if that General ſhould go into *Italy* to leave *Domitius*, and return by *Illyria* to follow *Pompey*, or at laſt if *Scipio* ſhould beſiege *Orica* or *Apolonia* to fall upon him, whom he knew very well *Pompey* would not forſake. *Pompey* thought alſo to ſurpriſe *Domitius*, before *Cæſar* came up; ſo theſe two Generals marched with all the ſpeed and diligence imaginable, and *Domitius* thought of delivering himſelf to the Enemy; for the news

news of the Battel at *Durazzo*, having turned the minds of the people in favour of *Pompey*, they had ſtopped all *Cæſar*'s Couriers to *Domitius*, who receiving no intelligence of the marching of the Armies, was come to poſt himſelf at *Heraclea*. This City was under the Mountain of *Cadavia*, where *Pompey*'s Army muſt paſs to get into *Macedonia*; *Cæſar*'s had been retarded by their Voyage to *Apolonia*, and every thing ſeemed to contribute to the loſs of *Domitius*, which had been inevitable, if ſome *Savoyards* belonging to *Roſcillus* and his Brother had not by chance met with his Couriers. As they had all ſerved together in *Gaul*, they did not treat them like Enemies, onely with a kind of Vanity, which Souldiers ſometime will be guilty of, told them that *Cæſar* was beaten, that he was retreated, and that *Pompey* was coming up with all his Army. This advice ſaved *Domitius*, who made his Retreat ſo opportunely, that he was not gone above four hours before *Pompey*'s arrival. He went to *Ægera* upon the Frontiers of *Theſſaly*, where he joined himſelf with *Cæſar*. This General ſeeing all his Forces together, marched to *Gomphes*, which is the firſt Town upon the way from *Epirus* to *Theſſaly*, the Inhabitants who at firſt had promiſed *Cæſar* their Obedience, changed their minds as others had done before them, upon the report of his being beaten, being perſuaded to it by *Ariaroſtenes*, Pretor of *Theſſaly*, he was then in the City, and after having

having ſent to *Scipio* and *Pompey* for ſuccour, cauſed the Gates to be ſhut againſt *Ceſar*, *Scipio* was at *Leriſſa*, and *Pompey* was not yet in *Theſſaly*, which cauſed *Ceſar* to attack *Gomphes*, he ordered Ladders, great Baskets filled with earth, and Hurdles to be got ready with all diligence, and after having repreſented to his Souldiers the benefit of forcing a place that was very rich, and well furniſhed he cauſed an aſſault to be made with ſo much fury, that the Town was taken by nine a clock the ſame day, he abandoned it to be pillaged, and without ſtopping marched his Army to *Metropolis*, before the news ſhould arrive of the taking of *Gomphes*. In effect the Inhabitants of *Metropolis* had a deſign to ſtand upon their defence, but the Priſoners which were taken at *Gomphes*, and whom *Ceſar* cauſed to be ſhewn to them, made them Wiſe by their Example, ſo they opened their Gates to *Ceſar*, who took care, and protected them from violence; this Conduct of his brought back all the Towns of *Theſſaly* to his Party, except *Leriſſa*, which *Scipio* had taken into his poſſeſſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIV.

Scipio *joins his Troops with those of* Pompey's, *They post themselves in the Plains of* Pharsalia. *The approach of the two Armies.* Pompey's *uneasiness.*

Pompey arrived at *Thessaly* within a few days after the taking of *Gomphes*, and advanced near *Pharsalia*, whither *Scipio* went to join him with his two Legions. He was received by his Son-in-Law with a great deal of Magnificence, and *Pompey* being willing he should share in Command with him, ordered him a general Quarter, separate from his own, and according to the Roman Custome, the Trumpets came and sounded every morning at *Scipio*'s Tent as well as *Pompey*'s. *Cæsar* was all this while giving Orders for the subsistence of his Army, and making Remarks upon the Inclinations of his Souldiers; Therefore so soon as he understood that they had forgotten their misfortune at *Durazzo*, caused them to advance as far as the Plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Pompey* was encamped. The approach of these two Armies, in which were all the chosen Roman Legions, whose Valour was to decide the Fate of that great Empire, the hatred and ambition of the Generals, animated by the Prize as well as the Glory, which must of necessity accrew to the Conquerour, and the little appearance there was of an Ac-

Accommodation, made it eaſily to be judged that nothing but a general Battel could be fit to determine that famous quarrel. *Pompey*'s Party incouraged by the advantages they had gotten at *Durazzo*, doubted not of ſucceſs. Every proceeding which did not ſeem to tend towards a Battel, was looked upon by them as an Obſtacle to their returning into *Italy*, they ſay *Pompey* let himſelf be flattered too much in his Command. *Domitius* called him *Agamemnon*, inſinuating, that he Commanded over Kings, and *Favonius* after his unthinking manner, told the other Senatours, that they muſt not expect that year again to eat the Figs of *Tuſculum*. Beſides, *Domitius*, *Scipio* and *Lentulus* were ready to fall out who ſhould have the charge of *Pontifex*, which *Cæſar* was then poſſeſſed of, all other Dignities were diſpoſed of, a great many having ſent already to *Rome* to take Houſes near the Place, where the Magiſtrates were to be choſen, ſo to be lodged with more conveniency, for purſuing the charges they pretended to, and *Arrius Rufus* would have accuſed *Afranius*, for having (as he ſaid) ſold *Spain* to *Cæſar*, which made *Afranius* ſay upon all occaſions, *Why do not we go and find out that Merchant of Provinces.* In ſhort, every one ſet his thoughts upon ſharing the fruits of the Victory without conſidering how to gain it. But *Cæſar* took another courſe, he endeavoured to incourage his Souldiers by little Combates, every day ſending out Parties, and

and exercised the young Men of his Legions to mingle themselves amongst their Cavalry, and contend for swiftness, even with the Horses; so though *Pompey* surpassed in the number of Cavalry, yet his being assisted by those light armed Foot, were not afraid of them, and in one Re-incounter they defeated a great number of them, and slew one of the *Savoyards* that had deserted. When *Cæsar* understood that his Troops had recovered their wonted Courage, and were desirous to go upon the Enemy, he drew out of his Camp and offered *Pompey* Battel. That General had no design to come to blows, and thought to have wasted *Cæsar*'s Troops by Fatigue and want of Provision. He drew indeed out of his Camp, but kept himself always under his Trenches, at the Foot of the advanced ground where he was posted, *Cæsar* could not attack him in that place without great disadvantage, so that he resolved the next day to decamp, to the end that by frequent motions he might weary out *Pompey*'s Troops, who were not so hardened to toil as his. He caused all the Baggage to be loaded that night, the Tents were already pulled down, and a March was sounded through the Camp by break of day, when he received advice that *Pompey*'s Army was in Battalia, far enough from his Trenches. Then *Cæsar* caused all his Troops to hault, and with extreme joy told them, *Let us defer our departure my Fellow Souldiers, and think of fighting, it is that which we*

we have long most earnestly wished for, therefore let us not lose the opportunity our Enemies present us withall, perhaps they will not be always of this Opinion, and it may be hard for us to find them in so good humour another time. After this short discourse he drew up his Troops in order, and marched them towards the place of Battel.

CHAP. XLV.

Pompey *forced to fight against his Opinion. His Discourse with* Labienus. *Some Presages.*

Pompey was not able longer to hold out against the insolencies and murmurings of his Officers, and in fine, they had so fully persuaded him to fight, that he promised them that he would defeat the Troops of *Cæsar*, this was in the Council of War, where he was assisted by all the Senatours of his Party. *I am very sensible*, said he, *that the execution of my promise may appear something difficult, but ye will not longer doubt of it, when I shall have told you in what manner I intend to proceed. All my Horse have promised me that they will attack the Enemy upon the flanks, before they shall be able to discharge one Dart, so we shall carry the Victory without hazarding our Legions with the price of one wound, and as you know the advantage which the number and courage of our Cavalry*

Cavalry has over those of the Enemy; I believe there is no man here present can doubt of the success, but will boldly prepare himself to the Battel which is desired with so much earnestness, and I hope that ye will maintain the reputation of your Valour so famous over all the world. After this, *Labienus* said a great many things in contempt of *Cæsar*'s Troops, *And to the Honour of* Pompey, *think not* (said he) *that these are the same Souldiers who conquered the* Gauls, *and vanquished the* Germans, *for I was present there, and speak nothing here whereof I am not well informed, there is hardly any of those old Souldiers remaining, many of them have perished in Battel. The Diseases of the last Autumn have destroyed a great many more, and the rest are gone to their homes. Those Troops which ye see at present, are but Retruits of some miserable Peasants, raised in the Cisalpine* Gaul, *the bravest whereof were slain at the last Battel of* Durazzo. Afterwards *Labienus* took an Oath that he would never return into his Camp if he were not Victour, and exhorted the others to doe so too. Every one swore in his turn, this new kind of Oath re-doubled their hopes, and no less their joy, *Because*, says *Cæsar*, *they were persuaded that so great a General as* Labienus *was, would not swear to a thing which he had not been resolved to execute.* In the mean time there hapned Presages that were not at all favourable to *Pompey*. The night before the Battel, he dreamed that he was at *Rome*, in a Theatre he had built, and that the people received him with great Acclamations;

mations, and went to adorn with Trophies the Temple of *Venus* the Victorious. This dream seemed to respect the glory of *Cesar*, who attributed the Original of his Family to *Venus*, at least *Plutarch* and some other Authours have so explained it. There was also seen a light like that of a Flambeau, which kindling it self over *Cesar*'s Camp, came and fell upon *Pompey*'s. And there happened at break of day one of those false Alarums which they call Panick fears, *Cesar* on the contrary had happy Omens, and the Diviner, who looked into the Entrails of the Sacrifices, told him two days before the Battel, that he foresaw a change in the present state of his Fortune, and that that change depended upon his Courage, and the Valour of his Troops.

CHAP. XLVI.

The year of the world 4006, since the foundation of *Rome* 76, before the birth of our Saviour 47.

The order of the two Armies. The two Generals speak to their Souldiers to encourage them to the fight.

Pompey's Army consisted of five and forty thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse, being in all five Legions with the Spanish Cohorts which *Afranius* had raised after his defeat. These Cohorts, and those of the Legions were in number 112, seven whereof he left to guard his Camp; and all these Troops were upon three lines, every Legion making three Battalions, (*viz.*) The *Hastati*, the *Principes* and *Triarii*, the first Battalion seconding the second, and the second the third. The Battalions were each of them of sixteen hundred Men, drawn up in half Cohorts (that is to say) two hundred Men in rank, and eight Men in file. The Legions of *Syria* were in the middle, and *Scipio* Commanded them. The Spanish Cohorts and Legion of *Silicia*, whom *Pompey* principally relyed on, were upon the Right under the Command of *Domitius Enobarbus*, *Pompey* put himself upon the left, where *Lentulus* Commanded with the two Legions that *Cæsar* had restored in the beginning of the War. The other Cohorts were in the same order between the Legions of *Scipio* and the two Wings. The Auxiliary Troops, at least those who fought in order,

der, as the Greeks did, made the body of Reserve. For the others, *Pompey* had cauſed them to draw out without order upon the left, with his Archers, Slingers, and all his Cavalry, his Right being fortified with a River that was hard to paſs. *Caſar* had onely 24 Cohorts, who made but twenty two thouſand Men, reckoning the two Cohorts which he had left to guard his Camp. His Army was drawn up alſo upon three lines in the ſame order with *Pompey's*, the tenth Legion was upon the Right, and the ninth upon the Left, and becauſe that that Legion was weak, the eighth was ſo near it, that they both ſeemed to make but one Body, with orders to ſecond one another. The reſt of the Cohorts being drawn up between theſe Legions, were in the Centre where *Domitius Calvinus* Commanded, *Sylla* having the right Wing, and *Antonius* the left, *Caſar* put himſelf at the head of the tenth Legion, whoſe Valour he had often experienced, and alſo to be oppoſite to *Pompey*, whoſe deſign was to fall upon the flanks of *Caſar's* Troops, who ſoon obſerved it by his order of Battel, ſo he drew ſix Cohorts out of all his Troops, whereof he compoſed a body of Reſerve, he exactly inſtructed them in what they were to doe, and above all, gave them to underſtand that all the hopes of Victory depended upon their Valour; Moreover, he ordered his third line not to march, till they ſhould receive a ſignal from him. In fine, his Cavalry to the

number of a thousand Horse, covered the right of the tenth Legion. The Armies being thus in sight of one another, the two Generals went from Rank to Rank encouraging their Souldiers. Pompey *represented to his the Justice and Merit of the Cause they defended. The advantage of their number strengthened by the assistence of so many illustrious Senatours, and the Victory of* Durazzo. *Cæsar* was contented onely to demonstrate, *That he had endeavoured by all ways possible to obtain an honourable Peace, and if his Enemies had been willing, they might have spared the Republick the blood of so many brave Men.* So seeing the impatience of his Souldiers to fall on, he gave the signal of Battel.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Battel of Pharſalia. *The fierceneſs of* Craſtinus. *The flight of* Pompey, *and overthrow of his Troops.*

HE had a Voluntier in his Army called *Craſtinus*, who the laſt year was eldeſt Brigadiere of the tenth Legion. This man coming up to *Ceſar*, *General*, ſaid he, *I intend this day to give you reaſon to ſpeak well of me, whether I live or die.* And then calling to him the Souldiers he had Commanded, *Follow me*, he cryed, *this is the laſt occaſion we ſhall ever have to acquit our ſelves of the duty we owe our General, and recover our Liberty.* After theſe words he advanced, and was followed with about twenty ſix Voluntiers, there was onely ſo much ſpace between the two Armies as was juſt ſufficient for the place of Battel; but *Pompey* had ordered his Men to remain firm at their Poſts, which Conduct *Ceſar* blamed him for, and we may depend upon his Opinion for it, and the reaſons which he has given in his Commentaries. His Souldiers ſeeing that the Enemy would ſpare them no ground, behaved themſelves like Men who very well underſtood their buſineſs, and of their own accord made a hault in the midſt of their Carriere, and after having taken breath a little, ran on upon the Enemy, where they firſt diſcharged their Javelins, and then drew

their Swords, as *Cæsar* had given them orders. *Pompey*'s Men received the Charge without the least disorder, and then made their discharge, and drew their Swords also, their word of Battel was, Hercules *the Invincible*, and *Cæsar*'s, Venus *the Victorious*. The Battel was cruel and bloudy, as it could not be otherwise between so many brave Men, animated by their Glory and particular Interests, both sides had an Ambition either to Conquer the Enemy, or die upon the spot, without appearing the least disordered, either with the horrible noise of Arms, or the cries of the wounded and dying Men that fell on both sides. *Crastinus* with his little Troop routed the Rank that opposed him, and had charged into the middle of the Battalion where he was stopped, and born dead to the ground by a wound with a Sword, which pierced his head through the mouth, and came out at the nape of the neck, by this means the Victory became doubtful in that place, when *Pompey* Commanded his Cavalry to go on, It consisted of the cheefest of the Roman Nobility, and the Allies all young handsome Men, and such as had great care of their Persons. At first they made *Cæsar*'s Men give ground, and had got upon the flanks of his Army, when causing the six Cohorts to advance, which were his body of Reserve, he gave them order to march with their Pikes ported, and in that manner to charge upon the face of their Enemies. This contrivance disordered

those

those young Men, and the fear of spoyling their faces, put them into confusion, so that *Cæsar*'s Cavalry rallying, charged upon them and brake them to pieces in a moment. They had not the courage to rally, but galloped full speed to the Neighbouring Mountains. All the Slingers and Archers being thus abandoned by the Cavalry, were cut to pieces, and *Cæsar*'s Men following their advantage, came and charged *Pompey*'s Troops upon the naked flank. They had maintained the fight with a great deal of resolution, and though that Charge had disordered them, the Allies defended themselves on every side, when *Cæsar* gave the signal for his third Line to advance, so those fresh Troops pouring in upon those of *Pompey*, who were wearied and attacked on every side, easily broke them. The flight began amongst the Strangers, who getting into their Camp, and securing what they well could carry away, fled full speed, though *Pompey*'s right Wing still stood and kept their ground, but *Cæsar*'s causing a Cry to be given out, *Of kill the Strangers, but save the Romans*, was the reason that the Romans laid down their Arms, and demanded Quarter, which was given them accordingly. But there was a terrible slaughter amongst the Strangers. *Pompey* seeing himself, as he said afterwards, betrayed by the Cowardise of those Troops on whom he most depended, the moment that he saw his Cavalry routed, left the fight, and returned into his Camp, telling his Officers,

who were upon the Guard, *That they should take care to defend the Lines if any disgrace happened, and that he was going to give the same orders to all the rest.* So he retreated into his Tent, to attend what might happen. In the mean time *Cæsar* seeing the Victory sure, cried out to his Souldiers, *That they ought to pursue the Victory, and take the Enemies Camp.* And though they were wearied out by the extreme heat and fatigue, for it was now high Noon; Nevertheless, when they saw their General marching on foot at the head of them, directly to *Pompey*'s Trenches they followed him. The Cohorts that guarded the Camp, and the Auxiliary *Thracians* made a stout resistence. But at last being pressed on every side, they gave ground, and fled towards the Mountains which were hard by. *Pompey* upon this occasion shewed nothing that was either worthy of his Courage or Reputation, nor gave the least Order for his Defence, and when *Cæsar*'s Men were already in his Lines, *How*, (says he) *in my very Camp?* So getting on Horseback, he escaped through the Decumane Gate, and fled to *Larissa*, where he made not the least stay, but with the same diligence got to the Sea side, accompanied with thirty Horsemen, and Embarked himself on Board a Merchants Vessel. *Cæsar* found almost through the whole Camp, Table Linen spread, and Cuboards covered with Plate, *Lentulus*'s Tent amongst the rest was trimmed up with Ivy and other Boughs to keep off the heat,

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by which may be gueſſed, the confidence of thoſe Men, who made ſuch preparations for pleaſure after a Victory, which they believed themſelves ſure of. *Caſar* begged of his Souldiers not to amuſe themſelves with the Plunder, but to complete the Victory; and by his Authority, and the reſpect which they bore him, he prevailed. So he immediately cauſed a Trench to be thrown up about the Mountain where the Enemy was Retreated, who, wanting Water, were forced to quit it, and March to *Lariſſa*. After this, he divided his Troops, ſending one part of them to Guard *Pompey*'s Camp, and the other into his own, Marching in Perſon with the Fourth Legion to cut off a paſſage from the Enemy. He drew up in Battalia Six thouſand Paces from that place, which cauſed *Pompey*'s Men to make a haulc. They were upon a Hill which had a River at the foot of it; and *Caſar*, notwithſtanding the wearineſs of his men, and that it was almoſt night, obliged them yet to cut off that Conveniency from the Enemy by a Trench. This laſt neceſſity forced them to a Capitulation, and ſome Senatours made their eſcape in the dark. *Caſar* ordered all the Souldiers to come down into the Plain and lay down their Arms, which they obeyed, and falling upon their knees before him, begged for Pardon, which he granted them with all kindneſs imaginable, and commanded his Souldiers not to offer them any affront, nor Plunder their Baggage. After this he ſent back the Troops that were

with

with him, with orders for fresh ones to come up to him, with whom he Marched towards *Larissa*, where he arrived the same day. Thus it was that he knew how to make use of a Victory and manage his advantages. And though we have all these particulars from himself, considering they have not been hitherto contradicted, we ought not to call them in question; but rather consider, whether we ought most to admire his Conduct, his Courage, or his dispatch, or indeed the Obedience and the respect which his Troops shewed him. He lost in this Battel onely Two hundred Men, amongst whom indeed were Thirty of his best Officers. This little number could not but be very surprising, for on *Pompey*'s side there were 15000 Men slain, and Four and twenty thousand who surrendred themselves to *Cæsar*; who, when he perceived the Field covered with the Bodies of the dead, says he to *Pollio*. *They would have it so.* "*Cæsar*, after all his great actions, must "have been condemned, had not he been sup-"ported by the Valour of his Troops: there were Four and twenty Colours brought to him, and Nine Eagles. In short, a great many Officers of the Enemy's Army fell in this Battel, and amongst the rest *Domitius*, who was slain by some Horsemen as he fled towards the Mountain.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Some other Presages reported to Cæsar.

BESIDES those Presages which happened before this Battel, and seemed to promise a great Victory to *Cæsar*, he has made a Report of some others equally as propitious. In a Temple of *Minerva* a Statue of Victory, which stood looking towards the Altar, turned it self towards the Door of the Temple the very day that *Pompey* was defeated. And at *Antioch* in *Syria*, upon the same day there were heard such terrible Cries, and so great a noise of Battel, that all the People ran in Arms up to the Ramparts: the same thing happened at *Ptolemaïs*; and at *Pergama* was heard a Noise of Trumpets, in the most secret place of the Temple, where none but the Priests had liberty to enter: and besides all this, at *Tralles*, in a Temple of Victory Consecrated to the Honour of *Cæsar*, in few days there was seen a *Palmtree* growing up between the Joinings of the Stairs of the Pavement, which reached up to the Roof. *Cæsar* stands ingaged for the truth of these Miracles, since he himself reports them. What follows is taken out of *Titus Livius*, and confirmed by *Plutarch*. *Cajus Cornelius*, a very Learned *Augur*, was at *Padua* when this Battel happened, who observing there the Flight of Birds, by the great knowledge which he had acquired in that Art,

Art, understood so exactly the moment when it began; that he took notice of it to those that were with him, and told them precisely how long it would last: and after sitting down, and making some new observations, all of a sudden rose up, Crying out, Cæsar, *thou art Conqueror.* But, this surprising news of his not being received with that credit he desired, taking the Crown from his head, which the *Augures* always wear in the Ministery of their Function, *Swore that he would never put it on again, till the truth of what he had said should be confirmed*; which soon after happened.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

Pompey *puts to Sea, and takes in King* Dejotarus, *and goes to* Amphipolis.

IN the meanwhile *Pompey* having left the Town of *Larissa*, dismist all the Slaves of his Train, and went, by the Sea-side, through the pleasant Valley of *Tempe*, accompanied onely with a small number of his Friends, the two *Lentuluses's* were with him, and *Favonius*, who, either out of Respect, or Pity, rendred him all the Offices of an affectionate Servant, and did it so handsomly, that *Pompey* was forced to permit it, signifying his acknowledgments in a *Greek* Verse, the Sense whereof was, *That every thing became a generous Man:* In this condition, very far different from what he enjoyed the precedent day, when he was cover'd with Glory, a Commander of Kings, and all the greatness of *Rome*, he found himself reduced to seek for a retreat in a poor Fisher-man's Cabbin; where, having for some time reposed himself, he went on board a small Barque, to try if he could reach *Amphipolis*; as he sailed along by the Shore, his Friends espied a Merchant Ship commanded by *Petilius*. This *Petilius* was a *Roman*, of the order of the People, and knowing *Pompey* by sight onely, had Dream't, that he saw him in a mean condition, far beneath that Lustre with which he had heretofore appeared at *Rome*: as he was telling this Dream

to

to his Friends about him, news was brought him, that they discover'd a Barque Rowing towards the Vessel; that those who were in her seemed in distress; upon this he came up above-Deck, from whence he discover'd and knew *Pompey*; so he order'd his Shallop to be hoisted out, and Rowed on Board him, where calling for the General, he gave him his hand to help him into the Boat, and all those who were with him; forbearing (for the respect he bore him) to enquire into the Misfortune which had reduced him to that extremity. They had now hoisted Sail to stand off from the Coast, when they discovered from the Sea-side King *Deiotarus*, with stretched-out hands making a sign to be taken in; they sent off the Barque, which brought him on Board the Ship, and then *Pompey* stood over for *Amphipolis*. In this place he consulted with his Friends what course he should take; the great confidence with which he relied on the number and valour of his Troops, and the over-positive hopes of Victory, had hindred him from thinking of any provision against the Misfortune he was now fallen into. For though he had been often sensible of the disgraces of Fortune, yet, as she had never surprised him so lulled in security as now, he had always found means to recover himself with advantage. But, upon this occasion, as he foresaw nothing in his mind but an assured Victory, his defeat was therefore the more intolerable, for that it left him naked, and disarmed of all relief. Moreover,

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over, this was the reason of all the false steps he made at the latter end of this War, when he left the Sea-side to follow *Cæsar* into *Thessaly*. And his Misfortune so far infatuated him, that he could not think of laying hold of those advantages which he yet had by Sea, where he had a powerfull and Victorious Army. *Lelius*, who Commanded one part of it, had besieged *Vatinius*, *Cæsar*'s Lieutenant, in the Port at *Brundusium*, and *Cassius*, in two Reincounters, had burnt above Forty of the Enemies Ships, in the narrow passage within the Port of *Messina*. But the astonishment *Pompey* was in, together with his evil destiny, hindred him from helping himself by the advantage he might have made of these Victories, if he had headed his Navy. For he stayed but one day at *Amphipolis*, where, to disguise his designs, he caused Orders to be published for all the Citizens of *Rome* and Youth of *Greece* to come to him. But when he heard that *Cæsar* was upon his March, he stayed for no body, and Sailed towards *Lesbos*.

CHAP.

CHAP. L.

Pompey *goes to meet his Wife at* Lesbos: *he reſolves to retire into* Ægypt. Achillas, Photinus *and* Theodotus *adviſed the King to put him to death.* Pompey *ſlain by a* Roman *called* Septinius.

HIS Wife *Cornelia* was at *Metylena*, the Capital City of that Iſland, with their youngeſt Children. *Pompey*'s Letters, after the Battel of *Durazzo*, had given her great hopes, and ſhe was daily expecting news of the total defeat of *Ceſar*, when *Pompey* arriving in the Haven, ſent one of his Friends to her. The ſadneſs with which this Meſſenger approached her, and the Tears that fell from him, ſoon made *Cornelia* apprehend the misfortune that had happened. She fell down dead upon the floor, and remained a long time inſenſible; but at laſt coming to her ſelf, and being told that *Pompey* ſtayed for her at the Port alone, in a poor Veſſel which he had borrowed, ſhe ran on foot to the place where *Pompey* came to imbrace her: and that Meeting had ſomething in it more ſad and touching, than can well be expreſſed. She accuſed her ſelf of being the onely cauſe of her Husband's Misfortunes; complaining of the ill deſtiny which Allied her to *Craſſus* firſt, and afterwards to *Pompey*, onely to bring about the Ruine of two ſo Illuſtrious Families. *Pompey* endeavoured all

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he was able to forget his own grief, and alleviate that of *Cornelia*; and at last, more by his tenderness, than any reasons he was able to urge, with much ado appeased her. But afterwards could not forbear complaining against the Gods, and their Providence, to *Cratippus* a famous Philosopher, who was then at *Metilena*. The Pride of Man having always the property to use God Insolently, even at the time when they find themselves forced to be humble towards their fellow Creatures. In fine, *Pompey* carried away *Cornelia*, and went with some Vessels that came to join him into *Cilicia*, from whence he returned to the Island of *Cyprus*; there he learnt the news, that the Cities of *Antioch* and *Rhodes* had declared against him. This made him resolve, after many deliberations, to retire into *Ægypt*, where *Ptolemy* then Reigned, the Son of that other *Ptolemy*, whom he had caused to be restored to his Kingdom by *Gabinius*, which made him prefer this Countrey above any other else which could be proposed for his Retreat. This King was very young, and absolutely governed by *Achillas*, who Commanded his Army, *Photinus* the first Gentleman of his Bedchamber, and *Theodotus* his Tutour: he was then at *Pelusium*, with an Army which he was leading against his Sister *Cleopatra*, whom these Ministers had driven from the Court. *Pompey* sent some of his Friends to the King to desire Succours, and a

Retreat within his Countrey: which demand much perplexing him, he referred the matter to his Council; and which means the fate of *Pompey* the great came to be in the hands of theſe three miſerable Fellows: *Photinus* and *Archillas* were of different opinions, the one was for ſending of him back, and the other for entertaining of him; when *Theodotus*, to ſhew his Eloquence, Remonſtrated, That neither of thoſe opinions was according to the Rules of true Policy: that by following the laſt, they ſhould make *Pompey* their Maſter, and *Cæſar* their Enemy; and by the firſt offend them both. *Pompey*, for being ſent away; and *Cæſar*, for letting of him eſcape: therefore That they ought to Invite him to ſhore, and kill him: being ſure, by that means, to obtain *Cæſar*'s Friendſhip, and never hereafter be afraid of *Pompey*. Concluding with that Maxim, which is ſince grown into a *Proverb*, *That a dead Lion never bites.* According to this Reſolution, they ſent *Achillas*, accompanied by *Septimius*, who was then Tribune, and had been a Centurion under *Pompey*, *Salvius* another *Roman*, and three or four Souldiers, they went into a Barque which carried them to the Ship where *Pompey* was, with his Wife and all his Friends; this manner of reception appeared a very ill Omen, eſpecially to *Cornelia*, who could not refrain from weeping: but when he ſaw that the King's Ships had already weighed Anchor, and were coming to ſurround his, and that *Septimius* ſaluted him with the Title of General,

General, he reſolved to put the beſt face he could upon a thing which was no longer in his power to refuſe; So giving his hand to *Achillas*, who had alſo ſaluted him in Greek, he turned towards his Wife and Children, repeating two Greek Verſes; which ſignifi'd, *That he who enters into the houſe of a Tyrant becomes a Slave, though he came thither Free:* Two of his Captains entred the Barque before him with *Philip* and *Seynes*, the one his Freedman, and the other his Slave; as they were a conſiderable time in paſſing from the Veſſel to the Shore, and obſerving that no body offered any Diſcourſe, *Pompey* addreſſing himſelf to *Septimius*, who (according to the *Roman* Diſcipline, which did not permit any under Officers to ſit down in the preſence of their General) ſtood up; told him, *That he believed he might heretofore have known him.* *Septimius* onely anſwered him by bowing his head, which was the reaſon that he drew out his Tablets to conſider the Speech which he deſigned to make to *Ptolemy*. In the meanwhile the Barque coming near the Shore, a great many *Ægyptian* Souldiers came running towards it, and as *Pompey* gave his hand to *Philip*, to raiſe himſelf up, *Septimius*, from behind him, run him through the Body with his Sword; he fell with the Wound; and ſeeing that *Achillas* and *Salvius* came at him with their Swords drawn, he cover'd his Face with his Mantle, and without ſhewing any mark of fear, freely offered himſelf to the Death they brought him.

At this terrible Spectacle, all thoſe who were on Board *Pompey*'s Ships made a hideous out-cry; but ſeeing the *Ægyptian* Gallies advancing towards them, the care of their ſafety made them give over their pity, and ſave themſelves with all the ſail they could make, under a fair Wind, which opportunely freſhned upon them that minute. Such was the end of *Pompey* the Great, who, after having eſcaped ſo many dangers, where he might have fallen with honour, came at laſt to loſe his life miſerably by the hands of three or four Villains, who were ſoon after puniſhed for their Crime by *Cæſar*. He died at the Age of Nine and fifty years, and upon the Eve of his Birth-day.

CHAP.

CHAP. LI.

Philip, Pompey's *Freed-man, pays him his laſt Rites of Funeral. The Misfortune of* Lentulus.

AFterwards cutting off his Head, they left the Body upon the Shore, expoſed for ſome time to the curioſity of the *Ægyptian* Souldiers; and, at laſt, *Philip*, his Freed-man, carried it aſide, where he waſhed it in the Sea, and wrapped it in his Mantle; as he was gathering together ſome pieces of a broken Boat to make a Pile, he was ſurpriſed by an old *Roman*, who had ſetled in *Ægypt*, but had ſerved heretofore under *Pompey*; *Who art thou*, ſaid he to *Philip*, *that art making theſe preparations for the Funeral of the Great* Pompey? *Philip* anſwered him, *That he was one of his Freed-men: Ah*, reply'd the old Man, *thou ſhalt not have all this Honour to thy ſelf, but ſuffer me, I beg thee, to partake in an action that is ſo juſt and Sacred; to the end that among all the diſcomforts of my exile, I may pleaſe my ſelf, to think, I have had the honour to touch the Body, and aſſiſt the Funeral of the greateſt Souldier* Rome *ever had.* So they gave him the laſt Rites; the ſadneſs of which Ceremony was very particular; *Lentulus* who was coming from *Cyprus*, without knowing of *Pompey*'s Misfortune, paſſed by that place in a Shallop, who ſeeing the Fire, began to be very curious about the matter, and cauſed

his Shallop to put in, that he might ſpeak with *Philip*, whom he did not know in that condition: after ſome ſad reflexions, *Who is the unhappy Wretch*, ſays he, *that is come in that place to finiſh his deſtiny*; adding with a Sigh, *Alas, is it not* Pompey *the Great?* When he came aſhore, he was given to underſtand by the Freed-man, that his apprehenſions were but too true. So his grief ſtaying him too long upon the place, he was taken by ſome *Ægyptian* Souldiers and carried to the King, who put him to death in Priſon. *Ceſar* afterwards cauſed a magnificent Sepulchre to be built on this place, with a Temple which he called, *The Temple of Wrath*; and it's very likely that it is the ſame place which Travellers to this day call *Pompey*'s Pillar.

CHAP.

CHAP. LII.

Cæſar *purſues his Victory.* Caſſius *ſurrenders himſelf to him with all his Fleet.* Cæſar *lands in* Ægypt. *The Inſolence of* Photinus *and* Achillas.

IN the mean while *Cæſar*, who knew that all the hopes of his Enemies were wrapped up in the Perſon of *Pompey*, followed him with his uſual diligence at the head of his Cavalry, having given orders to one of his Legions to March after him; when he underſtood at *Amphipolis* that *Pompey* had abandoned *Greece*, he reſolved to go into *Aſia*, and wanting Ships, put what Troops he had in Barques; and now it ſeemed as if Fortune was reſolved to take this occaſion, to ſhew ſtill that ſhe would have a ſhare in his elevation. *Caſſius* retreating into *Aſia* with a Navy of 60 Ships, fell in amongſt *Cæſar*'s little Fleet. And that Man who had ſince the courage to Murther him in the very midſt of *Rome*, could not have wiſhed for a fairer occaſion than now to kill him with honour; For *Cæſar* was not in any condition to make reſiſtence. In the meanwhile he walked upon the Deck of his Ship with the Aire of a Conquerour; and that reſolute behaviour ſo over-awed *Caſſius* (who was otherwiſe a very brave Man) that he went aboard his Shallop, and came to throw himſelf at *Cæſar*'s feet; he ſurrendred into his hands all the

Ships under his Command, demanding no other favour than his Life, with all the ſubmiſſion of a Conquer'd Enemy: *Cæſar* granted it in his uſual obliging manner, and then went into *Aſia*, where, after having diſpatched ſome orders, and prevented the ruine of the famous Temple of *Diana* of the *Epheſians*, whoſe Treaſures *Amphius* would have plundered in the name of *Pompey*, he underſtood he was retreated into the Iſland of *Cyprus*, not in the leaſt imagining that he could have a deſign of going into *Ægypt*. Therefore that he might give him no time to Fortifie himſelf, he went to *Rhodes*, where he Embarqu'd with two Legions, which were reduc'd to 3200 Men, and 800 Horſe. And though thoſe Forces were not very conſiderable, yet the confidence which he had in his Victories, and the high reputation they had gotten him, could not perſuade him, but that wherever he came he muſt meet with awe and obedience. So he went directly to *Alexandria* without ſtaying for the reſt of his Troops, to whom he ſent orders immediately to follow him; upon his Landing, he was entertained with the News of the Death of *Pompey*, whoſe Head was preſented him, and the Ring, which, according to the cuſtome of the Age, he was wont to make uſe of for a Signet. This Mournfull Spectacle, the Friendſhip which he heretofore had had with *Pompey*, and the ſad Imagination of thoſe Misfortunes, which attend the greateſt Men, drew Tears from his eyes; So he turned away

away his Face with horrour, and ordered him who brought him the Preſent, to retire, keeping onely the Ring, upon the ſtone whereof was ingraved a Lion holding a Sword in his Paw. Afterwards he made his entry into the City as Conſul. The Souldiers who were there in Garriſon were offended, for that he cauſed the Axes to be carried before him, and ſaid, *That it was done in Contempt of the Royal Authority*, which was the occaſion that for ſome days together ſeveral diſorders happened, in which a great many Roman Souldiers were ſlain. This forced *Cæſar* to ſend new Orders to his Troops to come and join him with all ſpeed, with fair Promiſes and Preſents gaining to his ſide a great many of *Pompey*'s Souldiers, who were then wandring about that Kingdom, and wrote word to his Friends at *Rome*, *That the greateſt pleaſure which he found from his Victory, was the ſaving every day the life of ſome one of thoſe who had born Arms againſt him.* In the mean while as an argument of his Confidence, he made great entertainments, and aſſiſted at the Conferences of Philoſophers, who were in great numbers within that City. But *Photinus*, who was come to *Alexandria* with the King, gave him every day freſh marks of his untoward intentions, he had written to *Achillas*, who Commanded the Army to come to *Alexandria*, and thoſe Succours made him inſolent, for he cauſed muſty Corn to be diſtributed to *Cæſar*'s Souldiers, and one day when

when *Ptolemy* treated him in his Palace, he cauſed him to be ſerved in earthen Veſſels, ſaying, *That the Gold and Silver Plate was engaged for the payment of the King's debts.* This was becauſe *Ptolemy* owed *Cæſar* a Milion ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns, the ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand *Cæſar* abated in favour of his Children, but demanded the remaining Milion for the neceſſity of his preſent affairs, and when *Photinus* told him, *That he would doe better to think of other matters that were of greater conſequence. Cæſar* anſwered him, *He was not come into* Ægypt *to ask Counſel.* In fine, the inſolence of that Eunuch which provoked him upon all occaſions, and it may be alſo the reputation of the admirable beauty of *Cleopatra,* cauſed him to declare, *That being the firſt Magiſtrate of* Rome, *he was reſolved to enquire into the difference between the King and his Siſter.* For *Ptolemy* the Father had by his laſt Will named for his Heirs the eldeſt of his two Daughters having conjured the people of *Rome* by the Gods, and by the Alliance that was between them to ſee his will put in execution, a Copy whereof he had ſent to *Rome,* and it was upon this foundation that *Cæſar* proceeded. But while this matter was in diſpute, *Achillas* came to *Alexandria* at the head of his Army. Theſe Troops were very formidable both for their number and for their valour, they were compoſed in part of *Gabinius* his old Souldiers, who were moſt of them married in

Ægypt,

Ægypt, and had taken upon them the Cuſtomes and Diſcipline of the Ægyptians. The other part was made up of ſuch men as had been disbanded in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and the other Neighbouring Provinces, and the reſt were baniſhed men, and run-away ſlaves, who were ſure of a ſafe retreat in *Alexandria*, and if they took party in the Troops, a certain protection from the other Souldiers, who frequently reſcued them by force of Arms from their Maſters that purſued them. Theſe Troops by a horrible Licence, (but what was ordinary amongſt thoſe ſort of people,) had uſurped a privilege of demanding the head of any of the King's Miniſters when ever they thought fitting, and plunder the richeſt of their Goods under pretence of augmenting their pay, and alſo to depoſe and ſet up their Kings. There were here at this time 2000 old Cavalry exerciſed in all the Wars of *Alexandria*, and theſe were the men who had reſtored *Ptolemy* to his Throne, who had ſlain the two Sons of *Bibulus*, and for a long time had made War upon the Ægyptians.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIII.

Cæſar *fortifies himſelf in* Alexandria. *He is attacked by* Achillas. *He ſeizes upon* Pharos. *Falls in love with* Cleopatra. *He is beſieged by the Ægyptians,*

CÆſar knowing well the valour and experience of theſe Troops, and finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to make head againſt them in the Field, took care to fortify thoſe Quarters of the City where his Legions were, and to ſecure himſelf of the King's Perſon, in whoſe name he deputed to the Army *Dioſcorides* and *Serapion*, who were the two principal Friends of the old *Ptolemy*, and who had been Ambaſſadours at *Rome*. But *Achillas*, inſtead of giving them Audience, charged upon them in ſuch manner, that one of them was killed upon the place, and the other ſaved his life by feigning to be dead. After this act of violence, *Cæſar* cauſed the Quarters of *Alexandria* to be fortified, where his Troops were retreated, and was the next day attacked by *Achillas*, *Cæſar*'s Souldiers ſuſtained the firſt onſet, and repulſed the Enemy, whoſe chief deſign was to get poſſeſſion of the 50 Ships and 22 Gallies that were in the Haven, which obliged *Cæſar* after a long and doubtfull fight to poſſeſs himſelf of *Pharos*, and ſet fire to thoſe Veſſels, whoſe flames being driven by the wind upon ſome Houſes near the Port burnt,

burnt them to the ground by a misfortune, in which we can never enough lament that famous Library belonging to the Kings of *Ægypt*, conſiſting as ſome Authours report, of 700000 Volumes. The *Pharos* is a Tower built in the Iſland, which makes the Haven of *Alexandria*, and it was built with ſo much Art and Magnificence, that it has ever been lookt upon for one of the ſeven Wonders of the World. There was moreover in the Iſland ſeveral Houſes and other Edifices, being joined to the Continent by a Bridge at the end of a Peer that was very narrow, and in length 800 paces, the taking of this Poſt made *Cæſar* Maſter by Sea, but he was very cloſe ſhut up towards the land by the Troops of *Achillas*, the People alſo of *Alexandria* were againſt him, and without any reſpect to the Perſon of their Prince had ſeveral times attacked the Palace where they were lodged together. But *Ptolemy* encouraged to it by *Cæſar*, appeaſed their tumult by his Preſence. *Cæſar* that he might not have any longer an Enemy to fear, but thoſe who were without, got himſelf at laſt rid of *Photinus*, and had ſent for *Cleopatra*, who he ſaid he would marry to her Brother, according to the Ægyptian Cuſtome, and the intent of their Fathers Will. The Eunuch was killed going from an entertainment at the King's Lodgings under pretence that he would have taken away the young *Ptolemy*, and carried him into the Ægyptian Camp, which was not without ſome ground, for *Ganymede* the other

other Eunuch had taken away *Arſinoe*, the youngeſt of *Ptolemy*'s Siſters, cauſing her to be acknowledged for Queen, and it was in her name that *Achillas* made War againſt *Cæſar*. But that enterpriſe which at firſt perplext him, turned in the conſequence to his advantage. *Ganymede* could not longer bear the reputation which *Achillas* had gotten amongſt the Troops, ſo he cauſed him to be ſlain, and made himſelf be declared General of the Army. In the mean time *Cleopatra* came to *Cæſar* with a great deal of danger, out of which her own Wiſedom and good management happily delivered her, ſhe embarked her ſelf in a Shallop onely with *Apollodorus* one of her Domeſticks, and arriving that night under the Caſtle of *Alexandria*, that man binding her up in a Packet of thoſe neceſſaries which he brought along with him, took her upon his back, and by that means deceiving the Ægyptian Guard, carried her to *Cæſar*. It is ſaid that that mark which ſhe then gave of her Wit, contributed much to the growth of a paſſion, which he afterwards entertained for that Princeſs, or at leaſt it is *Plutarch*'s Opinion. But to ſay the truth, the Slave may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have had the beſt part in that Contrivance. On the other ſide *Cæſar* was too ſenſible of the Charms of Beauty, not to be touched with thoſe of *Cleopatra*. She was then in the Prime of her Youth, and one of thoſe ſprightly Grecian Beauties, where every feature has its particular

cular Charm. All which was ſeconded by an admirable Wit, and a Voice ſo ſoft and bewitching, that that perfection onely without the help of her Eyes (for ſhe had the fineſt in the World) inſlaved the hearts of every one that heard her, nor could *Cæſar* refuſe her his, ſince he had not been able to defend it before againſt a certain Mooriſh Queen, ſo he became paſſionately in love, and declared himſelf at firſt ſight for the intereſts of that Princeſs *Ptolemy* quickly found that *Cæſar*, who was to be Judge between him and his Siſter, was become of her Party, and that that change was the work of love, the uneaſineſs which he ſhewed for it to the People, made them again revolt; but *Cæſar* ſoon quelled it, and as the Roman Conſul and Tutour to the young Princeſs, in a General Aſſembly read the Will of *Ptolemy* their Father, and promiſed to put it in execution. At this time *Ganymede* to ſignaliſe himſelf in his new Employment, undertook a great and difficult work, but from the ſucceſs of it we ought to determine the War on his ſide. The City of *Alexandria*, to expreſs it properly, was built upon a void or empty ſpace, for ſuch were the many Caves or Ciſterns made on purpoſe to receive the Waters of the *Nile*, which were excellent to drink when they were once ſetled and purged from the ſlime which that River carried in its Chanel, and which occaſioned many Diſeaſes amongſt the People when ever they were forced by neceſſity to drink it as they

Aunoe, the wife of *Bagud*, one of the Kings of *Mauritania*.

they drew it out of the River. *Ganymede* was wholly Maſter of the *Nile*, which ran through that part of the City which the *Ægyptians* were poſſeſſed of, ſo he cauſed all the Cannals to be ſtopt up which carried the Water to that ſide where he was Maſter, and then by Wheels and other Engines, he cauſed a great quantity of Sea Water to be taken up, which he put into the Cannals, from whence *Cæſar*'s Quarters uſed to be ſupplied with freſh Waters, immediately the chief Ciſterns were corrupted with that ſalt Water, which cauſed a great aſtoniſhment amongſt *Cæſar*'s advanced Guards, when they compared the taſte of the Water which they drank with that in the Ciſterns, which were not ſo near the Enemy, but at laſt theſe alſo became ſalt like the others, and that accident had almoſt made them deſperate. They murmured amongſt themſelves, and accuſed *Cæſar*'s obſtinacy, for thinking that he was able to fight at once both with Men and Elements. But he aſſured them by his Diſcourſe and his Authority, and cauſed Wells to be digged all along the Sea ſide, whereof he was Maſter, and where he found ſufficient ſtores of freſh Water.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIV.

Cæſar receives ſuccours. A Sea fight. A diſorder amongſt Cæſar's *Troops, upon the Peer. He ſaves himſelf by ſwimming. He reſtores the Ægyptians their King, who declares War againſt him.*

IN the mean time the four and twentieth Legion was arrived for his relief, and came to have landed near *Alexandria*. *Cæſar* went out with all his Ships to meet them, and in his return was ſet upon by the Ægyptian Fleet, but ſeconded by the Ships of *Rhodes*, eaſily put them to the rout, taking one of the Enemies Veſſels, ſinking another, and killing a great many of their Men, ſo that had not the night come on too faſt, he muſt have been Maſter of their whole Fleet. *Ganymede* did all that he was able to take away the Terrour which this ill ſucceſs had raiſed amongſt them, and put to Sea again another ſtronger Fleet, with which he came to attack *Cæſar*. The fight was very fierce, but the Valour and Experience of *Euphranor*, who Commanded the Ships of *Rhodes*, turned all to the advantage of the Romans, who took two Ægyptian Gallies, and ſunk three, the reſt ſaved themſelves under the Peer of *Pharos*, *Cæſar* being onely Maſter of the Tower, which was the reaſon that at one and the ſame time he made an Attack upon the Iſland, and the Peer with ten Co-

horts of light armed Foot, and the Gallick Cavalry, which he had choſen out of all his Troops. The Attack ſucceeding, the Iſland and the Peer were taken, and the Ægyptians driven beyond the Bridge, *Cæſar* immediately cauſed it to be fortified, and with ſtones ſtopped up the paſſage under the Bridge, that none of the Enemies Barks might go through. As they were buſie at this work, the Enemy came from the City-ward with Barks and Shallops to attack the head of the Bridge, and the ſides of the Peer. *Cæſar* was upon the Peer in Perſon to encourage his Souldiers, when a great number of the Mariners and Seamen belonging to his Veſſels, came thither without any order, partly out of Curioſity, and partly out of the deſire they had to come to a Battel. At firſt they behaved themſelves well enough with throwing ſtones, and with their ſlings. But the Ægyptians taking notice of the diſorder they were in, reſolved to come down and attack them; upon this, theſe Men ran again on Board their Veſſels as unſeaſonably as they had left them. Their flight raiſed the Courage of the Ægyptians, who purſued them with great Cries, and which ſo terrified the Romans that defended the Bridge, and who believing they were ſurrounded by their Enemies, thought of nothing but of ſaving themſelves in their Veſſels. The confuſion was great, and in this Rout the Enemy killed at leaſt four hundred Legionaries. *Cæſar* after having tried all his endeavours

deavours to prevent the running away of his Men, was at laſt forced to go on board his Ship, but as he perceived the number of thoſe that followed him, and the danger that might thence ariſe, he put himſelf to ſwimming, but with ſo great preſence of mind, that he loſt not one of thoſe Papers which he all the while held out of the Water with one hand, to preſerve them from wetting, nor his Coat Armour, which he carried in his Teeth. So ſwimming about two hundred paces to his Ships, he ſent out Shallops and Barks to the relief of his People, ſome of them were ſaved, but his own Veſſel as he had foreſeen, was ſunk by the number of thoſe who were in her, and who all periſhed. This Diſgrace inſtead of abating their Courage, ſerved onely to provoke *Cæſar*'s Souldiers, which appeared whenever they came upon Duty for the raiſing of the Works, and forced the Ægyptians to have recourſe to Artifices. They ſent Deputies to *Cæſar* to demand of him their King, ſaying, *That they were weary of being Commanded by a Girl, and the Tyranny of* Ganymede, *and that they were willing to make Peace with the Romans under the Authority of their lawfull Prince. Ptolemy* on the other ſide perfectly inſtructed in the arts of Diſſimulation, no leſs by his own Genius, than the Leſſons which were given him by his Governours, with tears in his Eyes begged of him to keep him with him, ſaying, *That the preſence of* Cæſar *did more Charm him than his King-*

dom. *Cæſar* was not ignorant of the perfidiouſneſs of theſe People, but he believed he ought in generoſity to give them their Prince, to the end he might either gain upon them by that favour, or at leaſt fight with more Honour againſt a King, ſo he reſtored him to his Army, where he was no ſooner arrived, but he renewed the War with ſo much earneſtneſs, that it ſeems (ſays *Hirtius*) the tears which he ſhed when he left *Cæſar*, were tears of joy. In the mean time *Cæſar*'s Friends were upon their march through *Syria* to his relief, and the Ægyptians, who were adviſed of it before him, ſought all occaſions to hinder the Convoys from coming to him by Sea, which was the occaſion of another Sea Battel, where the brave *Euphranor* periſhed with his Veſſel, they being too far advanced, nor well followed. But the Ægyptians enjoyed not this advantage long, for *Mithridates* of *Pergama*, who was very conſiderable for the greatneſs of his Birth and his Authority, and of great Reputation in War in *Cilicia* and *Syria*, had raiſed an Army for *Cæſar*'s Service, who came with theſe Troops to attack *Peluſium*, which he took by ſtorm. That City was the Key of *Ægypt* by Land as the *Pharos* was towards the Sea. From thence *Mithridates* advanced towards *Alexandria* for the relief of *Cæſar*, which forced *Ptolemy* to divide his Troops to defend the paſſage of the *Nile*. That River as it comes near the Sea, ſeparates it ſelf into many Branches, whereof the two moſt conſide-

ſiderable leave a large ſpace of Land between them, forming as it were an Iſland which the Ægyptians call *Delta*, for the reſemblance of its Figure to that Greek Letter. Δ.

CHAP. LV.

Mithridates *defeats the Ægyptians. He joins himſelf with* Cæſar, *who attacks* Ptolemy's *Camp. The Ægyptians routed. Their King is drowned.* Cæſar *eſtabliſhes* Cleopatra *Queen of* Ægypt *with her Brother.*

Mithridates who very well underſtood the Roman Diſcipline, received the firſt on-ſet of the Ægyptians in his Trenches, and when he ſaw them in diſorder, ſallied, and killed a great number of them before they could get to their Veſſels which were upon the *Nile*. *Cæſar* and *Ptolemy* were both adviſed of what had happened much about the ſame time, and immediately began their march, one to join himſelf with *Mithridates*, and the other to hinder him. The King went in his Ships along the *Nile*, and *Cæſar* to avoid a Sea fight in the Chanel of the River, went and made his deſcent above the mouth of the River, towards the Coaſt of *Aſia*, and with his uſual diligence came to join *Mithridates*, without being the leaſt

incommoded by the King. By this means matters were reduced to the hazard of a Battel. *Ptolemy* was advantageouſly incamped in a Poſt which had the River *Nile* on one ſide, behind him a Precipice, and on the other ſide a Moor or Marſhy ground. There was a River or Canal between the Ægyptian Camp and *Cæſar*'s Army. The King commanded all his Cavalry, and a detachment of choſen foot to defend that paſſage, the Banks whereof were very high. The Romans were ſeveral times repulſed, at laſt the ſhame to ſee the Ægyptians ſo long maintain the fight againſt them, obliged *Cæſar*'s Gallick Horſe to enter the Channel in ſeveral places, they opening themſelves a paſſage, while the Legionaries got over upon great Trees, which they had cut for that purpoſe, which bold undertaking confounded the Ægyptians, who with ſome loſs made their retreat to the Kings Camp. The next day *Cæſar* cauſing all his Troops to paſs over, made an attack upon their Camp along the Banks of *Nilus*, which being the eaſieſt place for that purpoſe, was the reaſon that the Ægyptians had drawn thither their beſt Troops, and neglected the other part which they thought inacceſſible. This *Cæſar* quickly underſtood by the ſtout reſiſtence which he here met withal, he therefore drew out ſome Cohorts under the Command of *Carſulenus*, one of his ancienteſt and beſt Officers to attack their Camp, where the Fortification was ſteepeſt. They there found little reſiſtence, by-reaſon

that

that on-ſet was ſo contrary to expectation. By this means they entred, and put the whole Ægyptian Camp into diſorder. Immediately every one thought of nothing but his own ſafety, and in this confuſion the King himſelf getting on Board a Veſſel, was drowned with all thoſe that followed him, and who by their numbers ſunk the Ship. After this Victory there was nothing found in *Ægypt* able to reſiſt *Cæſar*. The City of *Alexandria* was the firſt that ſubmitted, ſo he made his entry as Conquerour, and pardoned the Citizens in favour of *Cleopatra*, whom he eſtabliſhed Queen with her younger Brother *Ptolemy*, according to the intent of their Father's Will, driving out *Arſinoe* and *Ganymede*. The following days he dedicated to the love which he had for that Princeſs, and the rejoycings for his Victory. Some Authours report that he went up the *Nile* with her in a Magnificent Galley, and that he had gone as far as *Æthiopia*, if his Army had not refuſed to follow him. At laſt he left her with Child of a Son who was afterwards called *Cæſario*, and departed from *Ægypt* to go into *Syria* with his ſixth Legion againſt *Pharnaces* the Son of *Mithridates*, the others being left in *Ægypt* by his order to hinder the revolt of that new Conqueſt.

CHAP. LVI.

Cato *retires into* Africa, *and* Cicero *into* Italy, *where* Cæsar *Pardons him.* Pompey's *Sons go into* Spain; Cato *joins himself with* Scipio *and* Juba. *Some broils at* Rome.

THE Death of *Pompey* was so far from bringing this War to an end, that it served onely to diffuse it almost over all the parts of the World. *Cato* was at *Durazzo* during the Battel at *Pharsalia*, where he Commanded a Powerfull Fleet: From thence he went into the Island of *Corsira*, meeting there with *Cicero* who had not been at the Battel, and many other Senatours, who had escaped thither from it, amongst whom was the Eldest Son of *Pompey*. *Cato*, who always was for governing himself according to the prescription of the Law, offered the Command of the Army to *Cicero*, who had been Consul; who, not thinking himself fit for such a Charge, refused it; which provoked this *Pompey*'s Son, and all the young Men of his Party against him. They called him Traitour, and drew their Swords upon him; So that had not *Cato*'s Authority interposed and appeased him, they had certainly slain him: he escaped in a terrible fright to *Brundusium*, from whence he Wrote to *Oppius* and *Balbus*, who were with *Cæsar*, to excuse the choice he had made of an unfortunate Party: and though his Brother *Quintus*, by some provocation, whereof

whereof he complains in many of his Letters, without mentioning the Cauſe, had accuſed him to *Cæſar*; and though *Quintus* his Son had done him very ill offices, nevertheleſs *Cæſar* pardoned him, and treated him very kindly in his return to *Italy*. The others took different Parties, and *Cato* retreated into *Africa*, where he expected to meet with *Pompey*, whoſe eldeſt Son he ſent into *Spain*. *Caſſius Longinus*, whom *Cæſar* had left there, was very much embroiled with thoſe People, and with his Souldiers themſelves, whom he had uſed ſo ill, that he was wounded as he ſate in his Tribunal. This affair had very great conſequences, and *Marcellus*, though *Cæſar*'s Friend, had declared himſelf againſt *Longinus*, and made War upon him, when *Lepidus* arrived on *Cæſar*'s part, to inquire into the cauſe of their Diviſion. *Longinus* refuſed to obey: But as he retreated by Sea, with what Booty he had got together in his Government, he periſhed in the Mouth of the *Ebre*. Theſe Diviſions gave time to young *Pompey* to practiſe upon thoſe People, and many of the *Roman* Souldiers, who ſtill retained a great veneration for the Name of his Father, and to gather together ſome time afterwards a conſiderable Army. When *Scipio* had joined himſelf in *Africa* with King *Juba* and *Attius Varus*, and by that means enabled himſelf to renew a dangerous War in that Province, being aſſiſted by Ten thouſand Men which *Cato* brought him. The youngeſt of *Pompey*'s Children had met him

him upon the Coaſts of *Africa*, where he underſtood from *Cato* the death of his Father; which obliged him to go and caſt Anchor at *Cyrena*, where he paſſed the Winter; from thence he went forward to the Deſarts of *Lybia*, after having furniſhed himſelf with Proviſions and Water, and eſpecially of thoſe ſort of Men, who, by ſucking, cure the Wounds made by the bites of Serpents, who very much abound in theſe Deſarts, and who have alſo the art of Charming them. It was in this ſeven days journey that the Conſtancy of *Cato* ought much to be admired, for he Marched always on foot the foremoſt at the head of his Troops; always drinking the laſt, nor that neither, till all the reſt of his Army had undergon the extremeſt Thirſt, and were running to quench it at the Wells which they found in thoſe Deſarts. At laſt he arrived at *Scipio* and *Juba*'s Camp. But the Inſolence of that King of the Barbarians grew ſoon diſguſtfull to him, and cauſed him to retire into the City of *Utica*, after having left his Troops with *Scipio*, who, with thoſe of *Juba*, formed them into a Body very formidable to *Cæſar*; who beſides had received advice, that his Affairs were extremely intangled at *Rome*, whither he had ſent *Anthony* in quality of the General of the Cavalry. This was the ſecond Dignity next to that of Dictatour, and in *Cæſar*'s abſence gave *Antonius* abſolute Command of the Republick. *Dolabella* was then Tribune of the People, and *Antonius*'s Friend,

and

and in *Cæsar*'s Interest; he had conceived a Project in his head to cause all the ancient Contracts to be broken, that so he might be called upon at *Rome* to make new Tables; and *Antonius* at the first assisted his design, but entertaining some suspicion that *Dolabella* had gotten too familiar an acquaintance with his Wife, he turned her away, and joined himself with some of the Senatours, who were for opposing the Tribune. As they were both fierce young Men, and of great Quality, this Division of theirs had very ill consequences, they came in Arms to the Publick Place, where, after a great Combat, *Dolabella* was put to flight.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVII.

Cæſar *goes into* Aſia.

THIS news extremely troubled *Cæſar*, who was afraid leſt theſe Diviſions might at laſt ruine his Party, and that the Inſolence of his Officers might render him yet more Odious to the Romans. He knew, beſides, that the Souldiers which he had ſent into *Italy*, had thrown off all manner of Military Diſcipline, and that his preſence onely could be of force to bring them back to their duty. So he reſolved to take a Journey into *Aſia* for the eſtabliſhing of Peace in thoſe Provinces, and then go to *Rome*. *Syria* being in Peace, he left there *Sextus Cæſar* his Kinſman with one Legion, and afterwards embarked himſelf to go into *Cilicia*, where landing, he advanced by great Marches as far as * *Galatia*. There *Dejotarus* the † Tetrarch of that Province, called King of *Armenia* by the Senate, came to find him out, and excuſe himſelf for having followed *Pompey*'s Party; *Cæſar* received him with a great deal of Humanity, and after having ſomething reproached him with the good Offices which he had heretofore done him at *Rome*, he cauſed *Dejotarus* to take again thoſe marks of Royalty which he had quitted, and join the Troops of that King with his own. From thence he marched againſt *Pharnaces*, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of

* *A Province of the leſſer* Aſia.

† *This was a Title which was given to thoſe Princes who were not really Kings, though they exerciſed Sovereign Authority.*

Cap-

Cappadocia, and the leſſer *Armenia*, under *Dejotarus*, and who had defeated *Domitius Calvinus* one of his Lieutenants. This Prince, who knew what neceſſity of Affairs called *Cæſar* to *Rome*, ſought onely to gain time, and to that purpoſe ſent Ambaſſadours to *Cæſar*, *They beſought him not to treat their King as an Enemy for the ſake of* Dejotarus, *who had ſent Troops to* Pompey, *ſince* Pharnaces *had never aſſiſted him neither with Men nor Money, that at leaſt he would be as favourable to him as he had been to that Prince, whom he had pardoned, but that nevertheleſs in what manner ſoever it ſhould be his fortune to be treated, he ſhould always obſerve his Orders.* *Cæſar* anſwered, *That that would be the beſt way of ſhewing himſelf a Friend, That what he ſaid of* Dejotarus, *had no relation to the affairs in hand, ſince all the world knew that he received not leſs joy in pardoning thoſe many particular injuries which were done to himſelf, than in revenging ſuch as had been offered to the Republick.* This was becauſe *Pharnaces*, pufft up with his Victory, had treated the Roman Citizens which were in his Provinces with great Cruelty, putting the men to death, and caſtrating the Boys. *Cæſar* added moreover, *That he ought to quit* Pontus, *and reſtore their Goods again to the Romans; after which he might accept perhaps of his Preſent, being a Crown of Gold, which he had refuſed.* *Pharnaces* having received this anſwer, deſired time for the ſatisfying of theſe demands. But *Cæſar* ſeeing through his Artifices, reſolved to get nearer to him, by

that

that means either to bring him to Obedience, or give him Battel: He had with him onely four Legions, one of old Troops, by their fatigues and marches reduced to a little more than a thouſand men, one belonging to *Dejotarus*, and two of thoſe which had been beaten under *Domitius*. With theſe Forces he advanced as far as *Ziela*, a City of *Pontus*, near to which *Mithridates* had heretofore got the better of the Romans. This ſeemed a favourable Omen to *Pharnaces*, who was the Son of that King. Therefore as *Cæſar* was cauſing a Hill to be fortified about 1000 paces from the Enemies Camp, this Prince deſpiſing the ſmall number of the Romans, and the Troops which he had once beaten, quitted his Trenches, and came to attack them; when *Cæſar* ſeeing him in the Valley, which ſeparated the two Camps, where his Battalions were one above another, becauſe the place was narrow, and where, ſays he, no man of common ſenſe would ever have engaged himſelf, he deſpiſed his want of Experience, but when at the ſame time he ſaw him coming up the Hill, where he was poſted, admiring his Courage, or indeed rather his Raſhneſs, he gave the ſignal of Battel. This ſurprizal cauſed at firſt ſome diſorder amongſt the Romans, which was augmented by thoſe Chariots armed with Scithes, which marched at the head of the Enemy, and rendred the Battel very bloudy; but when *Cæſar*'s People, and eſpecially the Veteran Legion, had reco-

recovered their order, they forced the Enemy to give ground, and defeated them with ſo great a ſlaughter, that *Cæſar* ſeveral times could not forbear ſaying, *That* Pompey *was very happy to have gotten ſo much glory at ſo eaſie a rate againſt ſuch an Enemy.* It was alſo for this Victory that when he Triumphed at *Rome*, he bore this famous Inſcription, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, I came, I ſaw, I overcame. In effect, this abſolutely put an end to the War, for he took *Pharnaces*'s Camp, who fled into the remoteſt places of *Aſia*, he abandoned all the plunder to his Souldiers, and after having reſtored *Dejotarus* his Troops again, giving ſome neceſſary orders to the Neighbouring Provinces, where he left two Legions under *Caſſius Vinicianus*, and eſtabliſhing *Mithridates* of *Pergama*, who had ſerved him ſo well in *Ægypt*, King of * *Boſphorus*, he embarked and went into *Italy*, with a diligence which put all the world in Admiration.

* *This is that Country which lies on the other ſide of the Channel over againſt* Conſtantinople.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVIII.

Cæsar *returns into* Italy. *His Troops Mutiny, he appeases them, and returns into* Africa. *More Battels.*

UPON his arrival in *Italy*, *Cicero* and a great many others of *Pompey*'s Party came to meet him, and were received by him, as if they had always been of his Interest. This his moderation and behaviour purchased him the favour of the people of *Rome*, so that he very easily qualified all Divisions there, and got himself chosen Consul, but he found not matters in so good a condition amongst his Troops, who were grown to that height of insolence, that the tenth Legion, whom for its Valour he had always particularly favoured, openly revolted, and killed *Isconius* and *Galba*, two of the Senatours, so he sent for other Troops into *Rome* to guard the City, and notwithstanding the Counsel of his Friends to the contrary, went to find out this Mutinous Legion, which was drawn up in the field of *Mars*, the pretence of their Revolt was the rewards which he had promised them before the Battel of *Pharsalia*. Nevertheless, when he appeared before them, the presence of a General famous for so many Victories, so brave as he was, and of so noble a presence, struck them with such respect, that the most Insolent of them had not a word which he durst

durſt utter. So he mounted upon a Tribunal, and demanding of them, *What they had to ſay to him in relation to their rewards? They onely begged of him to give them leave to quit their Arms, alledging their age, their wounds, and their long ſervice; It is but juſt,* ſays he, *I do give you leave, and ye may be gone.* This anſwer indeed ſurprized them, for they believing that he had ſtill need of their ſervice, expected that he would have given them Preſents to have kept them together, ſo that they continuing yet for ſome time without ſaying any thing; *As to your rewards* (ſays he) *thoſe I will give you when I have triumphed over the reſt of my Enemies.* This word *rewards* made them recollect themſelves a little, they began to believe that he would have forgotten their Revolt, for they were aſhamed to forſake him, promiſing themſelves yet great advantages under his Conduct, beſides, they ſaw they ſhould be but a laughing ſtock to both Parties, there being no man in *Italy* who durſt put himſelf at the head of them, for this reaſon they expected with great apprehenſion how he would fartherexplain himſelf, and his Friends about him very much importuned him. When he began to ſpeak to them, he called them *Citizens.* This word, which ſeemed to degrade them, was like a clap of Thunder in their Ears, ſo they cryed out with confuſion, *That they were Souldiers,* and as he made an offer to come down angrily from his Tribunal, they threw themſelves at his feet, *Conjuring him to inflict all*

those punishments upon them which their insolence deserved, rather than disband them so shamefully. This was the Point which he desired to bring them to, so he remained a long time inflexible either to their prayers or their tears, till at last pretending himself overcome by the importunity of his Friends, he once more ascended the Tribunal, and said, *That that Revolt so much the more surprized him, for that it came from the Legion which he had distinguished by his particular favours, that for all this he would not punish them after he had once so much loved them, that he would allow all that he had promised them, and more than that Lands too for their subsistence, when he should have completed the War in* Africa; *but that they should not follow him in that War, but remain in* Italy. This last exception yet more and more afflicted them, they offered themselves to be decimated for punishment of their fault. And this submission so intirely appeased him, that he consented they should have leave to follow him. In this manner by his Resolution and his Address did he gloriously acquit himself in an undertaking of so much danger. *Cæsar* made but a short stay at *Rome* after this action, and when he had re-established order and quiet in the City, leaving *Antonius* to Command there, he marched by great Journeys into *Sicily*. He would not make his entry into any City, but to signify the impatience he had to go into *Africa*, encamped himself so near the Sea-side, that the waves flowed up to the very foot of his Tent, and though the

the Winds were contrary, he nevertheleſs Embarked what Souldiers he had with him, who conſiſted of one Legion of new Levies and 600 Horſe. In the mean while four other new Legions, and one more, being a Veteran Legion, came up with about 2000 Horſe, which obliged him to ſend away all his Fleet, whom he ſoon after joyned, leaving orders with *Alienus* the Pretor of *Sicily*, to ſend him the other Legions as faſt as they ſhould arrive. Now as the Troops of his Enemies conſiſted of great numbers, for *Juba* had four Legions, abundance of light armed Foot and Cavalry almoſt innumerable; *Scipio* ten Legions, ſix and twenty Elephants, and a great many Ships which were in poſſeſſion of all the Ports of *Africa*. *Cæſar* had appointed his Fleet no certain place of Rendezvous, he came in four days time in ſight of the African Coaſt, and paſſing with part of his Navy before the Cities of *Clupea* and *Neapolis*, he preſented himſelf before *Adrumetum*, *Conſidius* Commanded in that place, and *Piſo* guarded the Coaſt with 2000 Mootiſh Horſe. *Cæſar* made ſhew as if he would attack the Port, and afterwards ran aſhore a little way off, where he landed onely with 3000 Foot, and 150 Horſe. In the firſt place he Commanded that none of his Souldiers ſhould ſtraggle from the Body, and advanced his Troops towards the City, where after having intrenched himſelf, he ſent one of his Priſoners to *Conſidius*, who after

having underſtood that he came from *Cæſar*, cauſed him to be ſlain in his preſence, and ſent his Letters to *Scipio*, *Cæſar*, who had no deſign to attack that place, marched all along the Coaſt to *Ruſpina*, being all the way annoyed by Parties from the Enemy. And it was in one of theſe occaſions that 30 Gallick Horſe beat 2000 Moors, and drove them almoſt to the Gates of *Adrumetum*, he durſt not quit the Sea, being uncertain what might become of the reſt of his Fleet, and though he had ſent ten Veſſels to inquire intelligence, and had taken the City of * *Lepta*, from whence having furniſhed himſelf with good ſtore of Proviſions, he returned towards *Ruſpina*, and went on Board with ſix old Cohorts, without making any diſcovery of what he deſigned. When his abſence was known in the Camp, the Souldiers were extremely aſtoniſhed, and were for a whole night almoſt deſperate. In the mean while he was Coaſting, and by good fortune met the reſt of his Fleet, which came upon the ſame deſign, ſo he returned to his Camp with great diligence, and drew up his Army in Battalia to receive thoſe who landed. His preſence put an end to their apprehenſions, ſo he decamped the ſame hour to advance farther into the Countrey; he had hardly marched three miles when his Scouts brought him word that the Enemy appeared: A moment after he himſelf diſcovered a very thick duſt which was from *Labienus*, *Scipio*'s Lieutenant, who came with a great

* Tripoli.

a great Army either to hinder his deſcent, or to fall upon him as he was in diſorder, and in effect whatever *Hirtius* ſays in his Commentaries, almoſt all other Authours believe that *Cæſar* found himſelf at this time in great danger, the number of his Enemies was much greater than that of his own Troops, and his Souldiers being almoſt all of them new raiſed Men, had not been acquainted with the manner of fighting againſt the *Numidians*. Theſe People, as they doe to this day, obſerve no manner of Order, but being very well Mounted, uſed to fight by running out from their main Body throwing a great many Lances, and retreating at the ſame time that their Enemy comes forth againſt them. *Cæſar* had need now of all his Experience as well as Courage, to hinder his being totally put to a rout, he fought with his own hands, and taking by the Collar an Officer who carried the Eagle of that Legion which fled brought him up into the foremoſt ranks. At laſt a Souldier of the tenth Legion, (whom *Labienus* affronted, after having known him,) lancing his Horſe with a Javelin. *Cæſar*, while *Labienus* was carrying off, endeavoured with his Legionaries to open a paſſage through the Enemy, who had hemmed him in, and made his retreat good into his Camp, in deſpight of the coming up of *Petreius*, who it is ſaid ſpared him upon this occaſion, under pretence that he ought not to take away from *Scipio* their General the Glory of

completing the Victory. A little time after *Scipio* came to join his Lieutenant with eight Legions, and 4000 Horſe, proclaiming every where that *Juba* was following him with yet greater reinforcement. This report extremely terrified *Cæſar*'s new Souldiers, their fear appeared in their very faces, and in all their motions, and as it had made them very apprehenſive, *Cæſar* to take away that inconveniency, cauſed them to be drawn together, where he ſpake to them, *I am* (ſaid he) *very glad to let you underſtand that in a few days* Juba *is to arrive with* 10 *Legions*, 30000 *Horſe*, 100000 *light armed Foot, and* 300 *Elephants, ſo that thoſe who are now ſo curious, and diſpute ſo much upon the matter, may be at reſt and believe me, ſince I ought to know it, elſe I ſhall ſend them on board the worſt and oldeſt of my Ships, where it ſhall pleaſe the winds and fortune to carry them.* This diſcourſe ſo full of aſſurance, inſpired them with freſh Courage, and put a ſtop to thoſe ſort of reports. It is true indeed, that *Juba* was coming up, but *Bogud* a King of one part of *Mauritania*, and *Sittius* a Roman, who was ſetled in *Africa* with a great many of *Marius*'s Souldiers had entred his Kingdom, and made ſuch Progreſs there, as obliged him to return, ſo the War was carried on between the two Roman Generals, and *Cæſar*, who would forget nothing that might be for the advantage of his Affairs, knowing that many were of opinion that the *Scipio*'s ſeemed as if born to triumph in *Africa*, choſe from amongſt his Troops a man of very

very ſmall merit, but one who bore that name with the Sirname *Salutio*, and cauſed all orders to be iſſued out in his name, as if he had been General. In the mean while he wearied the Enemy by different movements, dayly retrenching himſelf, and beſides his Ramparts, which were furniſhed with all ſorts of Darts, made moreover Ditches filled with ſtakes, and in this condition ſuffered the affronts of *Scipio*, who came often to offer him Battel; *Cæſar* contenting himſelf to let his Cavalry onely draw out, and diſtributing his Orders with ſo much ſecurity, that he hardly ſo much as went out of his Tent. Moreover, as his Souldiers were not yet much inured to War, he took pains himſelf for their inſtruction, ſhewing them how they ought to receive the on-ſets of the Enemy, in what manner they ought to make their Retreat, when they ought to Charge, and when to recover their Ranks. In ſhort, all neceſſary poſtures with the ſame care that a Maſter of Defence inſtructs his Scholars. He forgot not alſo to quicken the ſuccours that were coming up, and which he expected, by People whom he diſpatched expreſs into ſeveral places, never being ſatisfied with any excuſe againſt the execution of his orders. At laſt *Alienus* ſent him from *Sicily* two old Legions, 800 Gallick Horſe, and 1000 Archers or Slingers, who arrived fortunately at *Ruſpina*; with theſe Recruits *Cæſar* left his Retrenchments, and marched towards *Uzita*, as if he would

attack it. *Scipio* came to ſuccour that place, and this motion was the occaſion of great diſputes without any advantage on one ſide or the other. *Caſar*'s Cavalry ſuffered much for want of Forrage, and were forced to feed their Horſes with the Moſs growing on the Sea-ſide, which they firſt waſhed, to take out the Salt, and then mingled with quitch Graſs, the Legionaries themſelves having brought no Tents, were forced to lodge under very ill Barraques. This inconveniency had like to have cauſed a great diſorder amongſt them by a kind of Prodigy that happened, which was, that one night towards the time that the *Plyades* diſappear, there fell in his Camp certain ſtones like Hail, which wounded a great many, and overthrew all their Barraques, ſo that they paſſed the whole night covered onely with their Bucklers. Nevertheleſs nothing could diminiſh the love which they had for their General. And ſome old Souldiers being taken on Board a Veſſel at *Thapſus*, and carried to *Scipio*, though he made them very advantageous Offers, refuſed poſitively to follow him, and choſe rather to ſee themſelves cut in pieces by *Scipio*'s Orders, than undergo the ſhame of being called Deſerters. In the mean time *Juba* being ſolicited by Letters from *Scipio*, having left *Saburra* to defend his Kingdom, came up with three Legions, 800 brideled * Horſe, and a great number of Numidians and light armed Foot, with 30 Elephants; his preſence added much to the Courage

* *This diſtinction is made, becauſe the Numidians carried their Horſes to the Wars without any Bridles, cauſing them to turn to the right or left with a certain ſwitch or rod.*

Courage of *Scipio*'s Troops. This King of *Barbarians*, cauſing himſelf to be reſpected above the Roman Officers, and treating them with Contempt. They ſeveral times attacked thoſe Parties which *Cæſar* ſent out for diſcovery, and came often to diſturb their Works, inſomuch that one day *Juba*, *Scipio*, and *Labienus* came at the head of all their Horſe, to affront his Legionaries in ſight of his Camp. *Cæſar*'s Cavalry, who were upon the Guard, were forced to give ground, but the Legionaries taking their Arms, and marching up in order, the Horſe returned to the Charge ſo vigouroufly, that had it not been for the darkneſs cauſed by the duſt, and the coming on of the night, *Juba*, and *Labienus* had certainly fallen into the hands of *Cæſar*, and their Cavalry been utterly defeated.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIX.

Cæſar *chaſtiſeth ſome Mutineers, and after ſeveral movements defeats* Scipio *and* Juba.

THESE performances very much encouraged *Cæſar*'s Souldiers, who were encamped near *Uzita*, when the ninth and tenth Legion came up to his Camp, the Inſolence of the Revolters could not be ſo well forgotten, but that he had ſtill a reſolution to make an example of ſome of them to the reſt of his Troops; wherefore being informed that *Avienus*, one of the Tribunes of that Legion, had taken up a whole Veſſel for his own Equipage and Horſes, without receiving ſo much as one Souldier, he took that occaſion, and being well aſſured of the affection of the reſt of his Souldiers, gave orders that all the Officers that belonged to the Legions, ſhould be called together. *I could well have wiſht* (ſaid he) *that ſome perſons might by this time have reformed their licentious and inſolent behaviour, and made ſome reflexions upon my good nature, my forbearance, and my patience, but ſince they have not known how to regulate themſelves, I am reſolved to make ſuch an example as the Diſcipline of War requires. Therefore you* Avienus, *who have debauched the Souldiers of the Roman People againſt the Republick, committed a thouſand exactions in the Cities of* Italy, *and who are as uſeleſs to the Commonwealth as you are to me, ſeeing that inſtead of*

Soul-

Souldiers, you thought a whole Ship but ſufficient for your Equipage, and by that means have obſtructed the ſervice of the Republick, I here Caſheer you from my Army, Commanding you to leave Africa *this very day, and withdraw your ſelf as far hence as it's poſſible. You* Fontejus, *who are a ſeditious Tribune, and a baſe Citizen, I Command you alſo to depart the Camp. And you* Salienus, Tiro, *and* Cluſinas, *who after having by favour, and not by merit obtained the Poſts ye now Command in, have ſhewen as little Valour in War as Honeſty in Peace, and who have always taken more care to make your Souldiers mutiny againſt their General, than to behave your ſelves as Men of Honour ought to doe; I declare you unworthy of any Command in my Army, and here ordain that this moment ye depart out of* Africa. Immediately he put them into the hands of ſome Centurions, and leaving them onely each a ſlave to attend him, Commanded them to be put on Board upon different Ships. On the other ſide *Juba*, who domineered in the other Party, and who treated even *Scipio* himſelf with Arrogance, having forced him to quit the Coat Armour of Purple, which diſtinguiſhed him as General, cauſed almoſt dayly his Troops to draw out in Battalia before *Cæſar*'s Camp, who thought himſelf obliged in Honour to quit his Retrenchments. *Scipio* had put all his Legions, and thoſe of *Juba* upon the firſt line, the *Numidian* Foot upon the ſecond, the Wings whereof appeared to be doubled, the Elephants being on the right and left upon the Wings,

Wings, and behind the Elephants the *Numidian* Cavalry, all his bridled Horſe and light armed Foot were upon the right, the City of *Uzita* cloſing up the left, and this he did with a deſign to hem in the Troops of *Cæſar*, who had ordered his men in this manner, the ſeventh and ninth Legion were upon the left, the twenty ninth and thirtieth were upon the right, and four Legions in the Centre. The new Legions compoſed the ſecond Line, he had alſo made a third, which took up but half the left of the ſecond Line, it being covered upon the right with his Retrenchments. In this place alſo he had poſted all his Cavalry, and as he thought not fit much to rely upon them, the tenth Legion was Commanded to ſecond them, his light armed Foot being drawn up in the Intervals of the Cavalry: In this poſture the two Armies remained at about 300 paces diſtance facing each other, from morning till four a clock in the Evening, without fighting, which perhaps had never before happened. But *Cæſar* offering to retire, all the *Numidian* Cavalry came thundring upon his left Wing, and his Horſemen being a little too far advanced, a great many of them were wounded, and one ſlain, with 26 of his light armed Foot, the night hindred any farther proceeding, and *Scipio* retreated into his Camp with a great deal of Joy. Now all the thoughts of *Cæſar* were, how he might take away from his People the fear they had of the Enemy, and eſpecially of their Elephants,

phants, wherefore having ſome of them in his Camp, he accuſtomed his Souldiers to approach them boldly, he cauſed them to obſerve the place where thoſe Beaſts were moſt eaſily to be wounded, and cauſed his Cavalry to aſſault them with blunted Lances, by that means to inure the Horſes to the ſight of them. At laſt, when by theſe exerciſes he found they were grown no longer afraid of them, he decamped, ſeeking dayly how he might poſt himſelf with moſt advantage. After many removings, and ſome skirmiſhes, wherein *Labienus* came by the worſt, obſerving that his Enemies began to fear the Valour of his Legions, he went to attack the City of *Thapſus*, where *Virgilius* Commanded for *Scipio* with a very ſtrong Garriſon. *Scipio*, who was afraid, leſt in looſing that City, his Reputation might ſuffer, came alſo to poſt himſelf about nine miles from *Cæſar*, where he and *Juba* entrenched themſelves in two ſeveral Camps. There was near to *Thapſus* a Pond of ſalt water, about 1500 paces diſtant from the Sea. *Scipio*'s deſign was by that interval to put ſome Troops into the place, but *Cæſar*, who had foreſeen as much, and expected it, had built a Fort there, and left a Garriſon in three places, which obliged *Scipio* to make ſome attacks, but without ſucceſs, and after having paſſed a whole night and a day on the banks of the Pond, ſet his Troops a work for retrenching themſelves towards the Sea, 1500 paces from *Cæſar*'s Fort. *Cæſar*

about

about break of day was informed of the proceeding, ſo leaving *Aſprinas* to guard his Camp, he marched directly upon the Enemy by the interval, which was between the Pond and the Sea. He ſent alſo orders to thoſe who Commanded his Veſſels that were before *Thapſus*, that leaving onely ſome to defend the mouth of the Port, they ſhould advance with the reſt on the other ſide of *Scipio*'s Camp, and at the firſt noiſe of Battel, ſetting their Souldiers on ſhore, make an attack upon that ſide with noiſe and ſhouting. *Caſar*'s Army marched upon three lines, the four beſt Legions on the front, and the five others making as it were a body of Reſerve, five Cohorts upon the Wings, who were deſigned to engage the Elephants, with all his Archers and Slingers, and his light armed Foot mingled with his Cavalry. For himſelf, he was on foot, going through the ranks, and animating his Souldiers by his preſence and his Exhortations. He found *Scipio* drawn up in Battalia before his Retrenchments, the works whereof he cauſed dayly to be continued, but at the ſight of *Caſar*'s Army his Souldiers began to be much diſordered. It was eaſie to ſee how they ran about from one place to another, ſometimes into the Camp, and ſometimes out again in all manner of confuſion, which extremely animated *Caſar*'s Men, who nevertheleſs did what he could to oppoſe their impatience, and ran to put a ſtop to ſuch as he ſaw moſt eager, when upon

upon the right Wing, a Trumpet contrary to his Orders, founded a Charge, immediately the Cohorts upon the Wings, in ſpight of their Commanders, ran on, which *Cæſar* ſeeing, gave for the word of Battel, *Felicitas*, and calling for his Horſe, was the firſt that charged the Enemy. *Scipio*'s Elephants were immediately put to flight by the Archers and Slingers upon the right Wing, and overthrowing the Souldiers that were behind them, ran into the entrance of the Camp. The Mooriſh Cavalry being abandoned by the Elephants, were eaſily diſperſed, and *Cæſar*'s Legions killing all that oppoſed their way, got poſſeſſion of the Enemies Trenches. The Garriſon of *Thapſus* had made one ſally, but were driven in again by the very Servants that belonged to *Cæſar*'s Camp, ſo that nothing but diſorder and fear appearing every where, *Scipio*'s Men had nothing to conſider of, but flying towards the Camp, which for two days before they had quitted, but ſeeing themſelves without any Leader, they threw down their Arms, that they might run more lightly towards the Camp of *Juba*, which thoſe of *Cæſar*'s Troops, who had not been engaged, had already forced, ſo theſe poor Souldiers of *Scipio* retreated up to a hill, where, though they made ſign that they would ſurrender themſelves, though they ſaluted *Cæſar*'s Men, and had thrown down their Arms, nevertheleſs, the Veterans, heated with bloud, and tranſported with fury, after having woun-

wounded and killed ſome Senatours of their own Party, whom they did not love, and who would have with-held them, they cut them all in pieces, though *Cæſar* himſelf were preſent.

CHAP. LX.

The death of Scipio *and* Juba. Cæſar *marches towards* Utica. *The death of* Cato.

Plutarch reports that 50000 Men fell in this Battel, *Hirtius* reckons onely 10000. This Victory, ſo abſolute as it was, coſt *Cæſar* but 50 Souldiers. All the heads of that Party ſeeing no hopes of farther relief, periſhed by divers accidents, *Scipio* endeavouring to ſave himſelf by Sea, finding his Veſſel taken, ran upon his own Sword. *Juba* and *Petreius* fought one againſt the other, where *Petreius* being ſlain by the King, he alſo commanded a death from the hands of one of his ſlaves. *Afranius* and *Fauſtus*, the Sons of *Silla*, were taken by *Sittius*, who put them to death. Onely *Labienus* eſcaped into *Spain*, and all *Africa* ſubmitted to *Cæſar*, except the City of *Utica*: *Cato* Commanded there with ſome Troops, and had eſtabliſhed a kind of a Senate, com-

compoſed of 300 Romans which he had gathered to him, he received the news of the Battel by ſome of *Scipio*'s Horſemen, who had rallied together in a conſiderable number, and as the Inhabitants of *Utica* had always appeared inclined to *Cæſar*, *Cato* to ſecure them, had put them into a Fortification without the City. The Cavaliers would have taken this occaſion to plunder, but *Cato* went to them, and by his Interceſſion and Authority perſuaded them not to uſe any violence. They offered him to follow him if he would make his retreat with them, but he anſwered, *That his deſign was to hold out the ſiege*, though when he returned into the Town, he found the minds of every body ſo divided, and ſo unreſolved, that he ſoon quitted that deſign for another more agreeable to his Character, and thoſe Opinions of Philoſophy whereof he had always made profeſſion. In the mean while he gave out his Orders with moſt admirable Prudence and Reſolution. He ſent away the Cavaliers, fearing leſt they ſhould commit ſome new diſorder. He perſuaded ſeveral of his Friends to ſave themſelves by Sea, others (as *Lucius*, who was a Kinſman of *Cæſar*'s) to rely upon his goodneſs, this laſt thing he recommended to his Children, and made a large diſcourſe to the eldeſt, exhorting him never to intermeddle with the affairs of the Republick. At night, according to his uſual Cuſtome, he came to Supper, (that is to ſay) ſitting,

for ſince the death of *Pompey*, he had never, according to the Roman Cuſtome, lain down at his Meals. Several of his particular Friends were with him, and amongſt others, ſome Philoſophers. The Diſcourſe ran altogether upon Philoſophy, and *Cato* defended that Maxim, *That the Vertuous onely were happy and free, but wicked men always miſerable and in ſlavery.* He grew very warm upon this Subject, and managed it with ſo much heat, that his Friends might eaſily diſcover he had ſomething more than ordinary in his mind, nor could they conceal the grief it gave them, which cauſed him to change the diſcourſe, and apply himſelf to his buſineſs, ſo he gave out ſeveral orders, to let them ſee that life and he were not yet upon ill terms. A little time after he went to bed, having firſt embraced his Sons, and the whole Company, but with ſo much tenderneſs, that it redoubled their ſuſpicions, and cauſed them to take away his Sword, which he was always wont to have by him. He took up *Plato's* Book of the Soul, and after having read a little while, looking for his Sword, and not finding it, he called for one of his Slaves, and without the leaſt diſorder onely bid him fetch it, but ſeeing he was not obeyed, he asked for it a ſecond time, and grew ſo angry, that he ſtruck the ſlave with ſuch force, that he hurt his hand, crying out, *He was betrayed, and ſhould be delivered to his Enemies naked and diſarmed.* At the noiſe of this,

this, his Sons and his Friends came into his Chamber, he ſpoke to them with ſome paſſion, ſaying, *How long is it that ye have obſerved me to have loſt common ſenſe? And why do ye not try to perſuade me by reaſon, without obliging me by force to follow other Opinions than thoſe I have already? Why doſt not thou* (ſaid he to his Son) *bind thy Father, and tye up his hands, that ſo I may be no longer in a condition to defend my ſelf againſt* Cæſar, *for againſt my ſelf I have no need of the help of a Sword, can any man miſs of a way to death? may he not ſtifle himſelf, or beat out his brains againſt the Walls?* At this Diſcourſe his Sons went out of the Chamber weeping, and left him with *Demetrius*, and *Apollodorus*, who were two Philoſophers, and his Friends, ſo he renewed the diſcourſe with ſomething more of moderation, *Are not ye alſo*, ſays he, *of the opinion to perſuade a man of my years in ſpight of himſelf to ſave his life? And do not you ſtay here to ſit like Mutes, and wait upon me for my guard? Or if you bring me any good reaſons to convince me, that having nothing elſe to rely on, it would not be a thing unworthy of my ſelf to beg my life as a particular favour from the hands of my Enemy, why do ye not proceed to prove it to me? That ſo renouncing all thoſe Maxims which we have hitherto maintained together, and becoming more wiſe by the means of* Cæſar, *we may find our ſelves ſo much the more obliged to him; It is not*, added he, *that I have yet reſolved upon that Subject, I would debate it with you after having*

examined thoſe Books and Reaſons which Philoſophy ſupplies us with upon the like occaſion. Go, get ye gone, and tell my Sons that they ought not to think of perſuading me by force to a thing which they cannot convince me of by Reaſon. After this, *Demetrius* went out and ſent him back his Sword by a young Slave, he examined the point, if it were good, and would enter well, and finding it to his mind, he laid it by him, ſaying, *I am Maſter of my ſelf,* ſo he took again the Book, which he read twice over, and then fell into ſo ſound a ſleep, that he was heard into his Anti-Chamber: about midnight he called two of his Freed-Men, *Cleantes* his Phyſician, and *Butas*, this laſt he ſentto the Port, to ſee if thoſe that would embark themſelves, were departed, and made his Phyſician apply a Plaſter to his hand that was hurt. This care of himſelf extremely rejoyced all his Family, *Butas* came back to tell him that every body was embarked, and that the Sea was very rough. He ſeemed to ſhew a great deal of concern for his Friends that were on Board, and ſent back *Butas* to ſee if any of them were not driven back, and wanted his aſſiſtence. The day began to appear, when *Butas* returned to tell him that the Sea was grown calm, and that no noiſe was heard upon the Port: ſo *Cato* diſmiſſed him, and hardly was theFreed-man got out of hisChamber, when he took his Sword, and thruſt himſelf through the Breaſt, the hurt of his hand

hand ſo hindred the blow, that he did not dye immediately, but ſtaggering, fell upon his Bed, and at the ſame time threw down a Table, upon which he had drawn ſome figures of Geometry, at the noiſe of this his Slaves came in, and with their Cries brought alſo his Sons and his Friends, they found him weltring in his bloud, his Bowels out of his body, and were ſo confounded with their grief, that they beheld him without being able to give him any aſſiſtance, his Eyes were yet open, which cauſed his Phyſician to eaſe him upon the Bed, and after having put up his Bowels, which had not been hurt, he cloſed up the wound. Upon this, *Cato* recovered his Spirits, and being tranſported with fury, thruſt back the Phyſician, rent open his wound again, and tearing his Bowels, expired before their Eyes. In this manner dyed *Cato*, at the age of 55 years, and though this laſt action of his found many admirers, nevertheleſs *Brutus* himſelf, who was his Nephew, condemned it in a Book which he wrote a purpoſe, and many reaſons there are indeed why it ought to be conſidered with horrour; *Cæſar* alſo was of the ſame Opinion, and wrote upon the ſame ſubject when he heard the news of his death. He ſaid, *That* Cato *had envied him the glory of ſaving his life, and it is for that reaſon*, ſaid he, *that I envy his death.* He pardoned his Son, who was afterwards ſlain at the Battel of *Philippi*, with much more glory than

he had lived, having discovered too strong an inclination for the Wife of a Prince of the bloud Royal of *Cappadocia*, whose name was *Psyche*, which in Greek signifies the Soul, and her Husband's name was *Maphradates*, which caused a saying amongst the Romans, *That* Maphradates *and* Cato *were good Friends, for they had but one Soul, and moreover* Cato *is generous and magnanimous, for he has a Royal Soul.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LXI.

Cæſar *returns to* Rome. *The Pomp and Magnificence of his Triumphs.*

AFTER the death of *Cato*, *Utica* ſurrendred to *Cæſar*, he pardoned the Inhabitants, but as many as fell into his hands of the three hundred that had uſurped the quality of Senatours, he put to death. So *Africa* being intirely brought into ſubjection, he returned to *Rome* to Triumph for all his Victories. At firſt, to obtain the favour of the People, he gave them to underſtand in a ſpeech he made them, *That his laſt Victory had gained the Republick a Countrey ſo rich, and of ſuch an extent, that it was able to furniſh* 600000 *Buſhels of Corn, and* 2000 *pounds of Oil yearly.* After this he ordered the preparation for his Triumph upon four ſucceſſive days, the firſt deſigned for the Triumph over *Gaul*, ſhewed to the Romans in a great many Tables the names of 300 Nations, and 800 Cities Conquered by the death of a Milion of Foes, whom he had defeated in ſeveral Battels. Amongſt the Priſoners, appeared that *Vercingentorix*, who had raiſed up all the Gauls againſt the Romans, and who had attacked *Cæſar* at the ſiege of *Alecia*, followed by 300000 fighting Men, beſides threeſcore and ten thouſand that were in the place beſieged, all the Roman Souldiers followed

their General Crowned with Laurels, and in that Equipage he went to the Capitol, the steps whereof he mounted upon his knees, forty Elephants being ranged on each side, carrying great Candlesticks, filled with Flambeaus. This shew lasted till night, by reason that the Axeltree of his Triumphant Chariot broke, which had like to have thrown down the Conquerour at the time when he thought himself at the highest Pinacle of his Glory. The second Triumph was over *Ægypt*, where appeared the Pictures of *Ptolemy*, *Photinus* and *Achillas*, which very much rejoyced the People of *Rome*. The third shewed the defeat of *Pharnaces*, and the flight of that King, which caused great shouts of Joy amongst the Romans, and many Ralleries upon the Conquered, and here it was that he made use of that Inscription * whereof we have spoken. But when in the fourth Triumph they saw the descriptions of *Scipio*, *Petreius*, and *Cato* himself, who was painted tearing his Bowels, they sighed as much for sorrow. The Son of *Juba*, who yet was very young, was carried amongst the Prisoners, and that Prince coming to be afterwards a very gallant Man, and of great understanding, *Augustus* gave him back again part of his Father's Kingdom, and Married him to young *Cleopatra*, the Daughter of *Marcus Antonius*. The Silver, the Vessels, and Statues of Goldsmiths work which were used in these Triumphs, amounted to threescore and sixty five thou-

* Veni, vidi, vici.

sand

ſand Talents, beſides a thouſand eight hundred and twenty two Crowns of Gold, which weighed 15033 *l. ſterl.* and were Preſents which the Princes and Cities had made him after his Victories according to the Cuſtoms of thoſe times. It was out of this ſum that he paid his Souldiers, beſides what he had promiſed them in the beginning of the Civil Wars. To every one 5000 Drachma's, as much more to the Centurions, and twice as much to the Tribunes and Commanders of the Cavalry, and for their retreat after the Wars, he gave them Inheritances in ſeveral places ſeparated from *Italy*. The People alſo were ſenſible of his Bounty, he diſtributed to each particular perſon ten buſhels of Corn, and ten pounds of Oil, and beſides the 300 *Denarii* which he had promiſed a 100 more, as for their Arrears; he ordered alſo in favour of the poorer ſort, that the rent of Houſes, which was grown to an exceſſive rate, ſhould be reduced in *Rome* to 2000 *Seſtertii*, and in *Italy* to 500, and after this he entertained the whole People at 22000 Tables, and to the end that nothing might be wanting to the Pomp of theſe Feaſts, cauſed 2000 Gladiatours to fight before the People, amongſt whom appeared *Leptenus* and *Calpenus*, who had been Senatours, and all this under the pretence of Celebrating the Funerals of his Daughter *Julia*. Upon the following days alſo were ſeen Comedies in all ſort of Languages repreſented in ſeveral places of the City, where

where the Children of the Asian Princes danced Armed. The Cirque was inlarged by his order, and surrounded with a Ditch filled with Water; and in this place the Children of the Roman Nobles exercised on Horseback, and upon Chariots, with 2 and 4 in front; at last being divided into two Troops, they represented that sort of Game which was called * *Troy*, to these divertisements succeeded those of hunting of wild Beasts, which lasted five days. Afterwards two Armies were shewn incamped in the Cirque, each consisting of 500 Foot Souldiers, 20 Elephants, and 300 Horse, who represented a Battel. The Wrestlers also took up two days. And after all, upon a Lake made a purpose in the field of *Mars*, two Fleets of Gallies furnished with a 1000 Souldiers, and 4000 Rowers or Mariners diverted the People with the representations of a Naval fight. These entertainments having drawn so many People to *Rome*, that the greatest part of them were forced to incamp in the publick places, a great many being stifled in the press, and amongst the rest, two that were Senatours.

* *That is, because these Games were instituted by the Trojans.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LXII.

Cæſar *goes into* Spain, *where he defeats the two Sons of* Pompey, *the oldeſt whereof is ſlain.*

DUring the time of theſe rejoycings, the two Sons of *Pompey* fortified themſelves in *Spain*, and as that People ſtill paſſionately affected the memory of their Father, they ſoon got together a powerfull Army; they had alſo very good Officers, and amongſt the reſt *Labienus*, which obliged *Cæſar* to go in perſon to oppoſe their proceedings. He was then the third time Dictatour, but e'er he would depart, reſolving to take a general review of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, as the Cenſors had formerly done, he found onely 150000 heads of Families remaining of 320000 which had been numbred before the Civil War, which now had waſted the greater half of them, *Cæſar* nevertheleſs arrived in *Spain* ſooner than he was expected. *Cneius*, the eldeſt of the two *Pompey*'s, had beſieged the City of *Ulloa*, and *Sextus* the younger Brother was in *Cordova* with a ſtrong Garriſon. *Cæſar* to raiſe the ſiege, and give ſome jealouſie to *Cneius*, advanced towards *Cordova* with what Troops he had with him, and thoſe others that were in the Province under the Commands of *Pedius* and *Fabius* his Lieutenant Generals. This proceeding had its effect accordingly, for *Cneius* ſolicited by Letters from his Brother, raiſed the ſiege from before *Ulloa*, and came to oppoſe *Cæſar*,

Cæſar, who after having vainly endeavoured to draw him to Battel, went to inveſt *Atecua*, that being the place of moſt importance, which held out for the *Pompey's*. *Cneius* being deceived by thoſe fires which *Cæſar* had kindled in his Camp, diſcovered not that he was marched, till it was too late to follow him, ſo he retreated to *Cordova* to refreſh his Troops, and came afterwards to take poſſeſſion of ſome hills near *Cæſar's* Camp, but the Camp was ſo well fortified, that he could attempt nothing upon him. The ſiege laſted a long time, and the beſieged defended themſelves very well, which obliged *Cneius* ſeveral times to endeavour the putting of Succours into the place, to which purpoſe he made divers skirmiſhes, and indeed not much to his diſadvantage. At laſt thoſe of the Garriſon ſeeing themſelves preſſed, undertook by a moſt horrible Treachery to cut the Throats of the Inhabitants, and then make a general Sally for the forcing the circumvallation of *Cæſar's* Camp. The Maſſacre was put in execution, but their Villany ſucceeded not, for they were beaten in their Sally, and driven back into the Town with great ſlaughter. At laſt *Minutius*, who Commanded there in chief, deſired that he might Capitulate, and ſurrendred the place almoſt in the ſight of *Cneius*. After this, *Cæſar* drew nearer with his Camp, and they diſputed for the ground by ſeveral Works which they cauſed to be thrown up, and which at laſt occaſioned a great Battel, wherein

wherein *Cæsar*'s Cavalry were forced to give ground to those of the Enemy, which advantage seeming a kind of reparation for the loss of *Atecua*, very much raised the courage of *Cneius*, some of his Letters being intercepted, wherein he gave account, *That* Cæsar *had onely with him raw and unexperienced Souldiers, that he durst not put himself upon the hazard of Battel, but that nevertheless means should be found to force him to it.* With this imagination he went to incamp himself near * *Hispalis.* In the mean while *Cæsar* possessed himself of two Castles, and knowing that *Cneius* was incamped in the Plain of *Munda*, he marched his Army thither. The two Generals were equally impatient to come to an ingagement, so that *Cneius* drew up his Troops in Battalia, by break of day he had posted himself very well upon a Hill, both sides whereof were defended, one by the City of *Munda*, and the other by a little River and a Marsh, the exactness of their order shewed his Troops to great advantage, especially his Horse, who were very well armed, the River also being upon his right hand, and separating the Hill, where he was incamped from the Plain, which was five Miles in length, and reached as far as *Cæsar*'s Camp. He also had drawn up his Troops in Battalia, and expected when the Enemy should come down into the Plain to fight him. But as they never stirred above a thousand paces from the City. *Cæsar* advanced as far as the Rivolet: now according

* Sevill.

to

to the Rules of War *Cneius* ought to have ingaged him in his paſſage, but his general Officers were obſtinately of Opinion to defend the Hill. *Cæſar* well perceiving that he could not come at them without great diſadvantage, and that they prepared themſelves to charge him as he came up, cauſed his Army to hault, as if he intended to fortify himſelf in that Poſt. His Army conſiſted of 24 Cohorts, and 8000 Horſe, the tenth Legion were upon the Right, the third and fifth upon the Left, and the Cavalry upon the Wings. *Cneius* had fourteen Legions, the Cavalry and his light armed Foot amounted to 6000 Men, with an equal number of Auxiliary Troops. *Cæſar*'s Souldiers murmured that he would not let them make uſe of the occaſion to ingage, and the delay ſo incouraged thoſe of *Cneius*, that they advanced upon the declining part of the Hill, ſo both ſides gave a ſhout, and the Battel began. The firſt ſhock was managed on both parts with ſo much courage, that *Cæſar*'s Men, who had been uſed to Conquer, found themſelves ſomething abated of their fierceneſs. The tenth Legion, though extremely weakned in number, nevertheleſs preſſed hard upon that which it was ingaged withall. But *Cneius* Commanded a Legion to march up upon the Right to its aſſiſtence. During this proceeding, *Cæſar*'s Cavalry charged *Pompey*'s left Wing, who received it in very good Order, ſo that all the Troops on both ſides being now ingaged, every one was to expect

expect his ſafety from his own proper Valour. All Authours agree that *Cæſar* was never in ſo great danger as now, and he himſelf has ſince declared, *That ever before he fought for glory, but at* Munda *for his life.* He threw himſelf ſeveral times amongſt the midſt of his Enemies, crying out to his People, *That they ought to take him and deliver him to thoſe Children to ſave themſelves the ſhame of being beaten,* ſo well did he encourage them by his ſpeeches, but much better by a thouſand actions of bravery which he performed, that at laſt with much adoe he overthrew *Cneius*'s Troops, and killed thirty thouſand upon the place, but he loſt a thouſand of his own Men, and had five hundred wounded. All the Enſigns were taken, and *Varus* and *Labienus* ſlain in the Battel. *Cneius* with 150 Horſe eſcaped to * *Carteia*, from whence thinking to get away by Sea, he was forced by the arrival of *Didius*, *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant, to return to Land. He was immediately beſieged within a Tower, and attacked ſo vigorouſly, that being wounded in the Shoulder and the Thigh, having his Heel put out of joint, he was forſaken by his People, and ſlain in a Cave, where he had hid himſelf. The young *Sextus* had better fortune, for eſcaping from *Cordova*, where he had been during the time of the Battel, he concealed himſelf ſo well, that *Cæſar* could not find him, or at leaſt becauſe he was ſo young, miſtook him. After this Victory, which put an end to that famous War, there nothing

† Tariffa.

nothing appeared to make resistence, so *Cæsar* having given out several Orders, and exacted great Contributions from the Enemies Cities, under pretence of punishing their Rebellion, he returned to *Rome* not a little glad, that he had at last brought under submission that Commonwealth which gave Laws to the greatest part of the World.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIII.

Cæſar's *return to* Rome. *He makes ſeveral Laws. The extreme Honours which were done him, draw upon him the Envy of the Senate.*

HE would needs Triumph at his return, but that Triumph was by no means attended with any joyfull Acclamations of the People, who were grieved to ſee the Memory of their beloved *Pompey* inſulted over. After this, *Cæſar* applyed himſelf to regulate the ſtate of the Commonwealth, and pardoned all thoſe who had born Arms againſt him. He cauſed alſo *Pompey*'s Statues to be ſet up again, and *Cicero* obſerved very properly upon that occaſion, ſaying, *That* Cæſar *by reſtoring* Pompey's *Statues ſecured his own.* He publiſhed ſeveral Laws, as that which limited the expences of Feaſts, which he cauſed to be obſerved with all ſeverity. Another touching the uſe of Litters, embroidered Robes and Pearls, which he confined onely to certain Perſons. That which allowed the right of a free Citizen to all People of Quality of whatſoever profeſſion, beſides, a great many other very good Ordinances. He ſate in Judgment with wonderfull diligence and application, and without ſuffering himſelf to be balan-

ced in favour of any of the Criminals. Moreover, to ſhew that nothing ſhould eſcape his care, he undertook to regulate the Roman Year, which was at that time very much confounded, and as it conſiſted but of ten months, according to the eſtabliſhment of *Romulus*, and *Numa* had taken care to add two others, conſiſting of ſixty five days, nevertheleſs the year wanted eleven days and a quarter, and though ſeveral remedies had been ſought for the reforming of that Errour, it happened out in ſucceſſion of time that the Feſtivals came in ſeaſons quite contrary to their Inſtitution; as for example, thoſe for the Vintages in Spring, and thoſe of the Harveſt in Winter. *Cæſar*, after having conſulted upon this occaſion the moſt able Aſtronomers, and being himſelf very well inſtructed in that Science, whereof he had written, regulated the Year according to the courſe of the Sun, to three hundred ſixty five days, and one day more to be added every fourth year, which was called the Biſſextile, and this is the foundation of that method which we to this day follow. He added to the ten old Months two others, which are *January* and *February*, that ſo the Reformation he made might be juſt and proportionable. In the mean time, as he was no-ways beloved by thoſe who were greateſt in the Senate, though his Ordinances had no other than the publick good, they forbore not to vilify him by their Raileries; and *Cicero* amongſt the reſt, being

being in a place, where it was ſaid, that the next day the ſign of the Harp would be viſible (*Ah*, ſaid he) according to the Ordinance. Now, though *Ceſar* had Information of their diſcourſes, he bore it all with ſo great moderation, that when ſome other People had yet the inſolence to violate his Reputation by Libels, he never ſo much as inquired after them. All his deſigns ſhewed the greatneſs of his Soul, he made a propoſition for adorning of the City of *Rome* with a magnificent Temple conſecrated to *Mars*, and with a Theatre. He undertook to drain the Marſhes near *Rome*, and to empty the Lakes. After theſe Works, he was for falling upon the Parthians, to revenge the death of *Craſſus*, and they being Conquered, to enter through *Hircania*, along the Banks of the Caſpian Sea into *Scythia*, to open himſelf a way through *Germany* into *Gaul*, and ſo return to *Rome*. But all theſe Projects ended in his death. *Ceſar*'s good fortune, which had appeared by ſo many Victories, his Merit and great Abilities, ſupported by the affection of the People, and the love of his Souldiers had raiſed him to a degree above all other Romans. But as it uſually happens in Commonwealths, where every one valuing himſelf upon his own Merit, looks upon abſolute Command as a right which he one day in his turn may pretend to, that advancement had brought upon him the jealouſie of all the Senatours, who could reſpect him no o-

therwiſe than the Uſurper of a Rank, which they thought themſelves deſerved as well as he. It being certain, that in matters of Ambition as well as Intereſt, no Man ever thinks any thing too much for himſelf. In the mean while in a ſhamefull manner they dayly flattered his Vanity with new Honours, preferring him even in his life time in ſome ſort amongſt the Gods. They thought it not enough to cauſe him to be choſen Conſul for ten years, and perpetual Dictatour, to give him the name of Emperour, and Father of his Countrey, and to declare his Perſon Sacred and Inviolable; But they ordained him alſo a Statue amongſt thoſe of the Kings, a Tribunal in the *Orcheſtria*, a Chair of Gold in the Senate, and in fine in the Shews of the Cirque, a Canopy, a Cuſhion, and Offerings, as to the Images of the Gods, with a Temple, Altars, as alſo a high Prieſt, and Sacrificers. Some Authours have reported that he procured theſe Honours by his Authority, others, that they were freely beſtowed upon him. That which appears moſt certain is, that they were ſo agreed upon in the Senate, and that all thoſe who were then preſent, came to him in a body to acquaint him with the Decree they had made, he was then in the Temple of *Venus*, and whether it were out of State, or for ſome other Reaſon, he received them ſitting without riſing up to goe and meet them. Some ſay that *Balbus* held him

him when he would have raiſed himſelf, others, that it was in offence to *Tributius*, who pretended to tell him what he was to doe. However it was, this neglect offended the Senatours, and cauſed them to diſcover their hatred, for from this time they contrived among themſelves to publiſh abroad, how that he affected the name of King: He had indeed the power in effect, and did onely want the Name, which was odious to the Romans. *Cæſar*, who very well knew how much that averſion imported, very well defended himſelf from it, and one day when ſome People called him Lord and King, he anſwered, *That he was* Cæſar. Nevertheleſs, he often let diſcourſes fall, which very much promoted thoſe Reports that were ſpread of his Ambition. He ſaid, *That a Republick was no other than a name and mere Idea, and that* Sylla *had diſcovered himſelf to be very ignorant, when he renounced that of Dictatour.* All theſe Diſcourſes were malitiouſly improved, and ſerved for great uſe to thoſe who envied him. Two Adventures, which afterwards happened, contributed alſo very much to their Confirmation. As he returned from a publick Sacrifice upon the day of the Latine Feſtivals, ſome body had Crowned his Statue with a Laurel, bound about with a little band of white Linen, which was a ſort of Diadem. *Marulla* and *Ceſeſtius*, the Tribunes of the People, took off the Crown, and Impriſoned him who had pla-

ced it there, which made *Cæſar* angry, he went to the Tribunes, quarrelled with them publickly, and took away their Employments, and that Affront offered to thoſe Magiſtrates, who maintained the intereſts of the People, provoked them againſt him. The other accident was yet more notorious. There was celebrated at *Rome* a Feſtival in Honour of the God *Pan*, which they called *Lupercalls*, in that Ceremony the young Romans of the beſt Quality, and who were for that year in Employments, ran naked through the City with lether Thongs, wherewith they wantonly ſtruck all thoſe they met, and by ridiculous Superſtition, the moſt Vertuous Women were wont to go meet them, and offer their hands to be touched with theſe Thongs, believing that that had the Virtue to procure them a happy Lying-in, and alſo make them fruitfull. *Antonius*, who was Conſul, appeared upon this occaſion, and *Cæſar* aſſiſted at the ſhew ſeated upon a Tribunal in a Chair of Gold, and in a habit of Triumph. *Antonius* paſſing through the People, who opened to the right and left to make him way, went up to the Tribunal, and preſented a Crown to *Cæſar*, ſome there were who clapped their Hands, as if they approved of it, but when *Cæſar* put back the Crown, there was a general Applauſe, *Antonius* offered it to him a ſecond time, but ſtill with as little marks of ſatisfaction from the People, *Cæſar* again refuſed it, which was followed with loud Accla-

Acclamations, *Cæſar* by this underſtood their ſentiments, which, he made uſe of this Tryal more clearly to inform himſelf of, he roſe up to carry the Crown to the Capitol, but was not Maſter of his diſorder, and ſaid that night to his Friends, *That if he knew any man who would cut his Throat, he could now offer it to him freely.*

CHAP. LXIV.

A Conſpiracy againſt Cæſar. *Preſages of his death. He is murthered in the Senate.*

THough he had yet a thouſand other Teſtimonies of the hatred he lay under, he abandoned himſelf ſo utterly to his Deſtiny, that from this moment he neglected any manner of ſecurity for himſelf againſt his Enemies. He was heard to ſay, *That he had rather fall by Treaſon once, than be ſo miſerable, as to be always afraid of it.* And another time, *That the Republick had more intereſt than himſelf in his preſervation, that he had gotten Glory and Power enough, but that after his death, the Commonwealth would be more haraſſed with Civil Wars than ever yet it had been.* And one day before his death, being at Supper with *Lepidus*, as his Friends diſputed amongſt themſelves, whilſt he was writing, what death was eaſieſt, *It is that*, ſaid he, turning towards them, *which is the moſt ſudden and the leaſt foreſeen.* He disbanded his Company of Spaniſh Guards, and contented himſelf to be defended with the protection of his Friends, which facilitated an enterpriſe upon his life. Above threeſcore Senatours entred into this Conſpiracy, the Principals whereof were *Brutus*, whoſe life *Cæſar* had ſaved after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, and *Caſſius*, who had ſurrendred *Pompey*'s Fleet to him in the *Helleſpont*, they were both Pretors and

Ene-

Enemies, becauſe that *Cæſar* had named *Brutus* for the eldeſt Pretor to the prejudice of *Caſſius*, who was above him in Age and Dignity; the name of *Brutus* had been famous in *Rome*, ever ſince the * Conſul ſo called, who had baniſhed the Kings. There was found written at the foot of his Statue, *WOULD TO GOD THOU WERT ALIVE.* And certain Billets were thrown into the Pretors Tribunal, wherein were written theſe words, Brutus, *thou art aſleep and not a true* Brutus. *Caſſius* was Authour of moſt of theſe things. He hated *Cæſar* for ſeveral reaſons, but chiefly, becauſe he had taken from him the Lions wherewith he intended to have given a ſhew to the People, ſo *Cæſar* miſtruſted him, and when his Friends adviſed him to look narrowly into the Conduct of *Antonius* and *Dolabella*, *It is not*, ſaid he, *thoſe perfumed and plump Sparks that I diſtruſt, but thoſe meagre and pale Gentlemen.* He omitted not nevertheleſs to prepare his Expedition againſt the Parthians, and cauſed ſixteen Legions to march, and Ten Thouſand Horſe for his going into *Aſia*. His deſign was to depart four days after to put himſelf at the head of them, when the Conſpiratours cauſed a report to be ſpread, that according to the *Sybill*'s Oracles the Parthians could not be overcome but by a King, and that upon this pretence *Cotta* was to propoſe to the Senate the giving of him that Title. *Caſſius* took this occaſion to go and viſit *Brutus*, de-

* Junius Brutus.

demanding of him, *If he would go to the Senate upon the Ides of* March, *when* Cæſar's *Friends were to propoſe the declaring of him King. Brutus* ſaid, *That he would not be there.* But replyed *Caſſius, if you ſhould be called thither, Then* ſaid *Brutus, I ſhall think it my Duty, to ſpeak, contradict, and dye, rather than loſe our liberty; Ah,* anſwered *Caſſius, what Roman is there that would ſuffer you to dye for his Liberty, you are ignorant* Brutus, *who you are, if you believe that thoſe Billets which are thrown into the Tribunal, come from any mean People, and not from the moſt Illuſtrious and braveſt Men of* Rome. *They demand from other Pretors, Games, Shews and Gladiatours, but they expect from you as a debt of Succeſſion the ruine of Tyranny, being ready to expoſe themſelves to all hazards for your ſake, if you can find in your heart to diſpoſe your ſelf to their Wiſhes.* After this Converſation they parted, and the Name of *Brutus*, whoſe Perſon was very much Eſteemed, ingaged a great many in the Conſpiracy, ſo they reſolved to put their deſign in execution upon the very Ides of *March*, and in the Hall of the Senate.

A great many Prodigies foretold this misfortune to *Cæſar*, there was found in an old Tomb at *Cappua*, a place of Braſs, whereon it was written in Greek Letters, that when the Bones of *Capys* ſhould be found, a Man of the Race of *Julus* ſhould be ſlain by the hands of his Kinſmen, and that his death ſhould be revenged by the deſolation of all *Italy*. Word was brought him, that thoſe Horſes which he had Conſecrated, and let looſe at the paſ-

ſage

ſage of the *Rubicon*, had not eaten for ſeveral days, and were ſeen to weep. *Spurina*, a very able Diviner, told him when he Sacrificed, that great dangers threatned him upon the Ides of *March*, and upon the Eve of that day, a Wren flying into the Hall of *Pompey*, with a Branch of Laurel in her Mouth, was torn to pieces by other Birds, who purſued her from a Neighbouring Wood. He dreamt the ſame Night that he was carried above the Clouds, and that he ſhook hands with *Jove*, and his Wife *Calphurnia* dreamt alſo that the top of her Houſe fell down, and that her Husband was Aſſaſſinated in her Armes, the Doors of the Chamber opening at the ſame time of their own accord with great noiſe. This laſt accident ſomething confounded him, and his Wife by her Prayers and Tears, prevailed that he would not go abroad that day. But another *Brutus*, ſirnamed *Decimus*, who was one of the Conſpiratours, though of the number of his neareſt Friends, cauſed him to change his reſolution in remonſtrating to him, *He was expected at the Senate, and that it would be a ſhame for him not to venture out of doors, but when it ſhould pleaſe* Calphurnia *to dream favourably*; ſo *Decimus* carried him almoſt by force out of his Lodgings, and as every thing ſeemed to contribute to his deſtruction, a Slave, who came to give him advice of the Conſpiracy, could never get up through the croud of People that ſurrounded him. *Artimedorus* of *Cnidus*, his Hoſt and Friend having

ving preſented him with a Memorial to the ſame purpoſe, he mingled it without reading amongſt other Papers that were given him, and *Lena*, who was one of the Conſpiratours, entertaining him a great while in private as he came out of his Litter; The others, who believed themſelves diſcovered, thought already of killing themſelves with the Daggers which they had under their Robes, when *Lena* quitting *Cæſar*, and kiſſing his hand, gave them to underſtand that he thanked him for ſome favour which he came to obtain. The Aſſembly of the Senate was held in a place which *Pompey* had cauſed to be built for that purpoſe, and which for that reaſon was called the Court or Hall of *Pompey*, where was to be ſeen his Statue in Marble, raiſed upon a Pedeſtal, *Cæſar* as he was entring, met *Spurina*, and ſmiling, told him, *The Ides of* March *were come.* *Yes*, anſwered the Divinor, *but they are not paſt.* When he had taken his place, the Conſpiratours turned towards him under pretence of ſaluting him, and *Tullius Cymber* approached to ask pardon for his Brother, who was then in Exile, *Cæſar* deferred the matter, and put back *Cymber*, who preſſed upon him ſo far, as to take hold on both ſides of his Robe, and when *Cæſar* cryed out, *It was a violent Proceeding*, *Caſca*, who was behind him, gave him the firſt ſtab with a Poniard near the Shoulder, the wound glanced, and was not mortal, *Cæſar* ſtruck *Caſca* through the Arm with his Dagger, crying out, *Traitour, what doſt*

doſt thou; *Caſca* on the other ſide called his Brother, and *Cæſar* would have raiſed himſelf, but he received a mortal wound in the Breaſt, and all the Conſpiratours charged upon him together with ſo much fury, that many of them were themſelves wounded, he nevertheleſs made great reſiſtence, whirling himſelf amongſt them like a Lion, till perceiving *Brutus* with his Dagger in his hand, he then covered his Face, and wrapping himſelf in his Robe, went and fell at the Foot of *Pompey*'s Statue, pierced with 24 wounds.

In the Year of Rome 710, *before the birth of our Saviour* 43.

The End of the firſt Volume.

THE HISTORY Of the Second *TRIUMVIRATE.*

Down from the Death of *Cæsar* to that of *Brutus.*

Volume II.

CHAP. I.

The Troubles and Fears of the Senate, and the People of Rome *after the death of* Cæsar.

THE death of *Cæsar* brought so much disorder into the Senate, and amongst the People of *Rome*, that the Conspiratours soon perceived what they had done was not like to meet with any general Approbation, all the Senatours, who were

were not Accomplices, fled from the place of Aſſembly with ſuch haſte, that it had like to have coſt ſome of them their Lives as they went out of the Doors, and the People Alarum'd at the News, left all their ſeveral Employments, ſome to run to the place where the Murther had been committed, and others up and down the City to inform themſelves of the circumſtances of the matter. The Market place was plundered, and ſeveral Senatours, who were retiring themſelves in great Terrour, were miſchief'd in the Tumult. In the mean time *Brutus*, who was lookt upon as the chief of the Conſpiracy, had done all that in him lay to qualify their fears, and after the Action had offered himſelf to declare the motives of it, but no body would hear him; this proceeding much ſurprized him, and aſtoniſhed alſo the other Conſpiratours, whereof *Caſſius* and he were of the greateſt Authority, as well by the Charges of Pretor, which they then executed, as by the particular Merit which diſtinguiſhed them. *Brutus* by his Father's ſide deſcended from that other *Brutus*, who had driven the *Tarquins* out of *Rome*, and had laid the Foundations of the Commonwealth, and by his Mother *Servillia*, from *Servillius Hala*, who had ſlain *Melius* for having unſeaſonably diſcovered ſuch marks of Ambition, as by no means were pleaſing to the Senate, by which means it ſeemed as if the hatred of Tyrants had deſcended into the heart of *Brutus* by the bloud

bloud of his Anceſtours, and himſelf in a Letter written to *Cicero*, highly declared, *That he could not ſuffer that even his Father ſhould have any Authority above the Laws and the Senate.* This fierce Opinion, as it might be natural to him, might alſo be ſome excuſe for the violence which tranſported him againſt *Cæſar*. That great Man had uſed him with all the tenderneſs of a Father, and though *Brutus* fought againſt him in the Battel of *Pharſalia*, gave ſtrict Command to all his Officers to ſpare his life, and after the Battel having pardoned him, promoted him to the higheſt Dignities, and one day ſhewing his Breaſt to ſome People, who adviſed him not to truſt him too far, *Do you believe then*, ſaid he, *that* Brutus *cares for ſuch poor pillage as this is?* At laſt, when he ſaw him with his Dagger in his hand, coming towards him, he cried out, *What my Son, and thou too?* Theſe Opinions were cauſed by the paſſion that *Cæſar* had had for *Servilia*, the Mother of *Brutus*, he was not ill received by her, and ſhe took ſuch little care to hide it, that ſhe uſed to ſend him Letters even into the Senate. One day when it was debated there what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon the Accomplices of *Cataline*'s Conſpiracy, one of theſe Letters was brought to *Cæſar*, * *Cato*, who was *Servilia*'s half Brother, cryed out, *That it contained ſome dangerous matter*, when *Cæſar* for his juſtification gave him the Tablets, which *Cato* read to himſelf, and then threw hem back to him again, calling him *Drunkard*,

* *They had both one Mother, but two Fathers.*

hard, but did not think fit to make any farther mention of the Letter. It was ſaid that *Brutus* was born in the height of this Amour, ſo that it will need ſome pains to juſtify what he ſince did to *Caſar*, for that thing excepted, all his inclinations were towards Vertue, he had moderated the heat of his Temper, by applying himſelf to Learning, and the ſtudy of Philoſophy, which though it was then divided into many Sects, he was yet acquainted with them all. He loved nothing but Glory, and avoided Pleaſures, he was ſober, watchfull, of an invincible Courage, Complaiſant and Affable in all Converſation, and for theſe Qualities was beloved of the People, adored by his Friends, and eſteemed even by his very Enemies. *Caſſius*'s Character was of a much different nature, he was very ſtout, and in the *Parthian* War had ſignalized himſelf by many brave Actions. He had a great and fiery Spirit, a quick and ſprightly Wit, but his Warmth often carried him even into Tranſport and Violence. He was ſomething ſuſpected of Self-intereſt, and not over-exactneſs in doing Juſtice. In ſhort, many are of Opinion that he conſpired againſt *Ceſar*, not ſo much out of the hatred of Tyranny, as for the particular Quarrel which he had againſt the Tyrant.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Brutus *and* Cassius *indeavour to justify what they have done before the People, who rise upon them. They retire to the Capitol.*

THese two Men went out of the Senate at the Head of the Conspiratours with their bloudy Daggers in their hands, in this condition they presented themselves before the People, and in the first heat, several, who had no share in the Action, desirous to attribute some false merit of it to themselves, joyned the Conspiratours with their Swords in their hands, amongst the rest *Aquinius*, *Dollabella*, and *Pettilius*, who afterwards by their death paid dear for that impertinence, and vanity, for though they caused a Cap to be carried before them upon a Lance, as a Token of Liberty, and though *Brutus* depended upon the great Name and Example of his Ancestours, the People received them with sadness and with silence, not giving them any of those Acclamations which they expected; so they thought fit to retire to the Capitol, causing themselves to be guarded by Gladiatours belonging to another *Brutus*, firnamed *Decimus*, who was also in the Conspiracy. They were not now any longer the People, who heretofore had defended their Liberties with a Zeal transported even to Madness, all Opinions of that kind had given place to Interest, and they

were better pleased with some present Gain, than any Whimsey of Dominion, by which means they were more afraid of Poverty than Subjection. *Marius*, *Sylla*, and some others had taught them these Maximes, and besides, several Strangers, and abundance of Freed-men being crept in amongst them, had corrupted the purity of the true Roman bloud, and debauched their Noble Thoughts, nevertheless they came to the Capitol in great numbers, and *Cassius* himself ventring to come down, was received by them with Applause; this again assured the Conspiratours, so they returned to the publick place, where *Brutus* was accompanied with the most considerable Men of the Senate, even to the Tribunal, wherein he designed to speak to the People. Several Authours have reported that he came onely with *Cassius*, and that their Hands were yet besmeared with *Cæsar*'s bloud. However it were, all they said, shewed a great deal of Resolution. They maintained that what they had done, was not onely just, but that it deserved to be rewarded, attributing the glory to one another with large and reciprocal Praises. After this, they proceeded to the Commendation of *Decimus*, who had so seasonably assisted them with his Gladiatours, and exhorted the People, *To maintain that Liberty and good Fortune which they had procured them, that they should remember how their Ancestours had heretofore expelled Kings, whose Government was no less unjust and violent than* Cæsar's *had been.*

been. In fine, they propoſed the return of *Sextus*, the Son of *Pompey*, and to make *Celerius* and *Marullus* Tribunes of the People, who had firſt dared as they ſaid, *To attack the Tyranny, in taking the Diadem from* Cæſar's *Statue.* The People gave great attention to their Diſcourſe. But when * *Cinna* advanced to ſpeak, it ſoon appeared that their ſilence proceeded onely from that reſpect which they bore to the Vertue of *Brutus.* This *Cinna* had received many benefits from *Cæſar*, and even the Charge of Pretor, which was the ſecond Dignity in the Republick; the Pretors were to diſtribute particular Juſtice, and Commanded alſo Armies in ſeveral Provinces that were aſſigned them. *Cinna* ſtripped himſelf of the Robe, which was the mark of his Dignity, and threw it from him with Contempt, ſaying, *That he would not be honoured with the favours of a Tyrant.* He extolled the action of the Conſpiratours, and propoſed that they might be rewarded with extraordinary Honours, but his diſcourſe and behaviour appeared ſo odious to the People, that they were provoked againſt him, and interrupted him with Affronts and Curſes. Nevertheleſs, *Dollabella* forbore not to preſent himſelf to ſpeak after him, he was a young Man in great Eſteem, and *Cicero*'s Son-in-Law, *Cæſar* had deſigned to have left him Conſul in *Rome*, when he went to the Parthian War, nevertheleſs he condemned the Memory of that great Man, and thoſe, who during his

* Cornelius.

life time had so much honoured him. He applauded the Murther, and transported himself so far as to express his sorrow for not having had a part in so glorious an Action. The commotion of the People against *Cinna*, taught *Brutus* and *Cassius* what they were to expect. They returned to the Capitol, where *Brutus* fearing to be besieged, caused several Senatours, who merely in point of Honour had followed him, to return to their Houses, not thinking it just, that those who had no share in the Action, should be ingaged in the danger.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Antonius *and* Lepidus *rally* Cæsar's *Friends.* *Some propositions of Accommodation.*

THIS News extremely rejoyced *Cæsar's* Friends, the chief whereof were *Marcus Antonius* and *Lepidus*. *Antonius* was very Illustrious both by his Birth and his Valour, being descended from one of the noblest Families in *Rome*, which derived it's Original from *Anton* the Son of *Hercules*. He was of a very comely Personage, upon all occasions Magnificent, and passionately beloved by the Souldiery. His bounty, and that familiarity wherewith he was wont sometimes to debauch with them, had engaged them to him. The Criticks of his Age have reproached him for being too much addicted to his Pleasures, but that inclination never hindred him from behaving himself with great resolution upon all weighty occasions, and necessity evermore awakened his Vertue. But Pleasure at last got the better of him, and cost him his life, besides, when ill Fortune had imbittered his Spirit, he could not forbear discovering some inclinations towards Avarice and Cruelty. He was ingaged in the Fortunes of *Cæsar*, and *Cæsar* had made him General of the Cavalry, which was the second Dignity of *Rome*, when it was under a Dictatour, and at the time of *Cæsar's* death he was Consul. Now the Consul-

ſhip was the higheſt Dignity amongſt the Romans in the time of the Commonwealth, and laſted but for one year, it was executed by two Perſons who had equal Authority, who were choſen by the Voices of the People, and who Commanded within and without the City. It is true, that the Dictatour was yet above the Conſul, but he was never made but upon extraordinary occaſions of the greateſt importance, and he it was who named the General of the Cavalry. *Sylla* firſt, and *Cæſar* after him added to the time and duration of that Dignity, even at laſt to make it perpetual, but that was without Example, and they have been both reproached with it as a Tyrannical Action. *Lepidus* alſo was of Illuſtrious Extraction, very rich, and no leſs conſiderable in *Rome* for his Civility, and the great Charges that he had executed; he at this time Commanded the Cavalry by Commiſſion in the room of *Octavius*, *Cæſar*'s Nephew, whoſe charge it was. He was much eſteemed for his honeſty, but he wanted that reſolution which is neceſſary upon all difficulties, eſpecially amongſt ſuch People as he had to deal withall.

Both theſe Men were at the Senate when *Cæſar* was ſlain. It is true that the Conſpiratours who ſtood in fear of the vigour and courage of *Antonius*, had given charge to *Trebonius* to make uſe of ſome pretence to ſtop him at the Hall door, but they both got off in the throng, *Antonius* into the Houſe

of

of one of his Friends, and *Lepidus* into the Iſland made by the *Tyber*, in the middle of *Rome*, where he had a Legion of Souldiers that loved *Cæſar*. He marched them into a place called the field of *Mars*, there to expect *Antonius*'s Orders, who ought to Command by reaſon of his Dignity. When they underſtood the aſtoniſhment of the Senate, and how the minds of the People were diſpoſed, they reſolved to revenge the death of their Friend, while *Brutus* and thoſe of his Party were conſulting what courſe to take; at laſt the concluſion was, to ſend Deputies to *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, *To deſire them to conſider the misfortune that their diviſion might bring upon their common Country.* The Deputies had orders to handle the Articles of *Cæſar*'s Murther with all niceneſs, *That no hatred to his Perſon had put them upon that deſign, but onely the love they bore their Country, who had already been ſo drained by Civil Wars, that any new diſunion muſt certainly carry away the miſerable remainder, that they believed them alſo too generous to let any particular hatred tranſport them to the prejudice of the Publick.* Yet theſe reaſons alone were not of force enough to convince *Antonius* and *Lepidus*; but as they feared that *Sextus* might declare againſt them, and leſt *Decimus*, who had obtained from *Cæſar* the Government of the Ciſalpine *Gall* ſhould fall upon them with a powerfull Army, which he had then under his Command, they reſolved to gain what time they could, and endeavour the debauching of *Decimus*'s Souldiers

Souldiers, upon this resolution *Antonius* made answer to the Deputies, *That for their particular Revenge they would joyfully Sacrifice it to the publick good, that indeed their Honour, and the Oath they had given to* Cæsar, *ought to engage them to revenge his death. And that they were of Opinion it was much more honourable to live without reproach amongst a few good Men, than to draw upon themselves the miseries that are due to falshood; but as they were not obstinate, they would voluntarily consent that the Assembly should be called, and that then they might easily be governed by the advice of so many Illustrious and discerning Persons as should compose the Body of the Senate.* *Antonius* received Commendation and Thanks for this answer, which the Deputies carried back to the Capitol. In the mean time *Lepidus*, by order of *Antonius*, posted that night *Corps du Guard* throughout all the City, while those, whose interest it was, were soliciting their affairs with their Friends. Those whom *Cæsar* had employed in his Troops, being every where heard to utter strange Threats, provided what he had promised them was not made good. *Calphurnia*, *Cæsar*'s Widow, caused also that night her Money and Papers to be carried to *Antonius* his House, who as he was Consul, caused it to be Published, that he would hold the Senate in the Temple of *Tellus* near his own House.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Senate Assembles. Diversity of Opinions amongst the Senatours. Cæsar's Ordinances Ratified.

CINNA, who the day before had thrown away his Pretor's Robe in the presence of the People, was the first that came to the place of Assembly, when Cæsar's Souldiers provoked with his presence, fell upon him with stones, following him to a House, whither he went for shelter, they would have set it on fire, if *Lepidus* had not hindred them, and appeased the disorder. The most violent of the Senatours came not thither, being retired among the Conspiratours, and *Antonius* was not at all angry at it, so there appeared through all the Assembly nothing but Peace and Temper. Nevertheless Opinions were found to be very different, some praised what the Conspiratours had done, and proposed that they might be rewarded. Some again said, *That it was sufficient to approve of it without ordering Recompences, when no body demanded them.* Others equally were for throwing out both the Applauses and the Recompences, and said, *That it was sufficient if they forgot what was past, and were willing that it should be pardoned.* There were some who declared boldly, *That it was an odious action, but they would not hinder what might be done for the safety of those who had committed*

mitted it, because they belonged to the most Illustrious Families of Rome. To this it was answered, *That that indemnity had already been allowed them.* And when it was urged, *That what they had done, could not be praised without wronging the memory of* Cæsar. Others replyed, *That the business now in hand was not to think of the dead, but to consider the living.* At last one of the company brought it to this, *That they had but two things to choose, either to agree that* Cæsar *was a Tyrant, or that those who murthered him stood in need of pardon.* All the Opinions terminated in this, so it was concluded that these two points should be debated. Then *Antonius*, whose business it was to draw advantage from their Division, desired them to consider, *That if they condemned the memory of* Cæsar, *they ought also to Cancell his Orders, that that would have respect not onely to the Empire in General, but almost to every particular man there present, that some were in possession of Dignities, others of Employments, others of Governments, and all by virtue of* Cæsar's *Orders, that if these Orders were unjust, they ought to resolve to lay aside those honours which they could no longer think were lawfully conferred upon them.* Now the first debate of all matters of Importance was evermore held in the Senate, and afterwards proposed to the People, who by their advice either confirmed or rejected the Decree, so these words of *Antonius* caused a great commotion in the Assembly, and here one little spark of Interest eclipsed all the plausible and high resolutions

of

of thoſe grave Senatours, they all roſe up, crying out in confuſion, *That it was inſufferable that the Dignities they were inveſted in, ſhould come to be Canvaſed amongſt the People.* Eſpecially *Dollabella*, who was deſigned Conſul, and who indeed had need of a diſpenſation, being not yet qualified in age as the Law required, he who found he could not maintain himſelf, but by the Authority of *Cæſar*, whoſe Memory the day before he had violated, appeared now the moſt eager in his defence, and charged thoſe with wrong doing who had praiſed the Murtherers of a Dictatour. Nevertheleſs, ſeveral Pretors threw off their Robes, which they had hopes afterwards to take up again by the Authority of the Sēnate. Upon this *Antonius* and *Lepidus* left the Senate, ſeveral Senatours ran after them, to deſire them to return, and overtook them in ſight of the People, who were aſſembled in a great number about the Gates of the Temple; then *Antonius* threw open his Robe, and ſhewed that he was armed, ſaying, *That he knew no other way to ſecure his life than that of Arms.* Several cryed out, *That he ought to provide againſt thoſe diſorders.* Others demanded Peace; *And what aſſurance,* ſays he, *can there be in that Peace, where even the Religion of Oaths was not of force enough to defend* Cæſar? Then thoſe who were for revenge, called *Lepidus*, he came down the ſtairs of the Temple, and getting upon the advantage of the ground, *I was,* ſays he, *yeſterday here with* Cæſar *in this*

this very place, where I now lament his death. Upon this the outcrys began again, some for Revenge, others for Peace; at last they desired him to take upon him the Dignity of Sovereign Pontifex, which Office had been *Cæsar's*, he begged of them, *To reserve those kind thoughts they had for him, and seeing that those who inclined to Peace were the strongest Party*, he said, *he would be over perswaded by them against his own inclination*, and returned to the Senate. The Confusion still lasted upon the place, but *Antonius*, who came to prove the indifference of the People for both the two Parties, and who perceived well, that it would be a difficult matter to bring the Conspiratous to punishment, made a Remonstrance, *That if the memory of* Cæsar *were Condemned, all the Provinces of the Empire, who were governed by his Orders, would look upon themselves as disingaged of their Oath and their Obedience, that that would be in effect to proclaim so many Men of Quality as he had raised, unworthy of their Honours; that that must turn to the confusion of the Republick, and draw upon them the Contempt of Nations that were Strangers, that therefore they ought to consent that it was necessary to Ratify the Ordinances of* Cæsar; *but then to observe how Ridiculous 'twould appear at the same time to give Praises and Rewards to his Murtherers. For all this, he would not oppose the Compassion which pleaded for their Pardon, in consideration of their Relations, provided that it might appear done at the Petition of their Familys, that he himself had there consented to it, not that he by*

any

any means thought it agreeable to Juſtice, but for the publick Quiet. So his advice was followed, and the Decree paſſed in thoſe terms, there were onely added the names of ſuch who had had employments, and other honours as they particularly had deſired.

CHAP. V.

New Diviſions occaſioned by Cæſar's *Will.* Brutus *and* Caſſius *ſpeak to the People in their own juſtification. They come to an agreement with* Anthony *and* Lepidus.

THIS Proceeding redounded much to *Antonius*'s Reputation, for he had diſcharged himſelf of this buſineſs with a great deal of Addreſs and Induſtry, though very many, and amongſt the reſt, even *Cicero* himſelf were of opinion, *That he thought more of his pleaſure than the buſineſs of the Commonwealth.* The Senatours went home to their Houſes very well ſatisfied, when ſtreight a new difficulty aroſe. *Piſo* declared, *That having the Will of* Cæſar *in his poſſeſſion, he had given it into the protection of the Veſtals, with orders to return it into his hands.* It was told him, *That the Will muſt not be produced, and that it would be very improper to doe him Funeral Honours, ſince it might produce freſh Tumults.* *Piſo* was *Cæſar*'s Father-in-Law, and for that reaſon ingaged both in Honour and Friendſhip

to

to ſee his laſt will put in execution, he anſwered, *That he would diſcharge himſelf of what he owed to his Son-in-Law and his Friend*; and when it was anſwered him, *That what* Cæſar *diſpoſed of, was the Goods which belonged to the Republick, which by this means was robbed of its right, and that he ſhould be called to an account for his proceedings.* Theſe threatnings cauſed him to demand of the Conſuls, *That they would aſſemble the Senatours which were yet preſent.* So they returned to the Temple, where *Piſo* delivered himſelf in theſe terms, *I am ſorry to ſee that the number of* Cæſar's *Murtherers increaſes each moment, and that far from being ſatisfied with the cruel death which they have made him ſuffer, they yet deſire that the body of a Sovereign Pontifex ſhould be deprived of the Honours of Funeral, which were never refuſed to the meaneſt Man; they forbid me with Threatnings to publiſh his Will, they would divide his Fortune amongſt them as the eſtate of a Tyrant, and which is moſt ſurprizing of all, thoſe very men who come to Ratify what he hath Ordained in the Commonwealth, endeavour to ſuppreſs what he hath diſpoſed in particular, and though it be neither* Caſſius *nor* Brutus *themſelves that declare theſe Opinions, it is eaſie to believe that thoſe who maintain it, are influenced by them. However it be, order you what you pleaſe as to* Cæſar's *Funeral, but for his Will I ſhall remain Maſter of that, and ſo long as I have breath, will never betray that Confidence and Truſt which he repoſed in me.* This diſcourſe occaſioned a freſh Conteſt, thoſe who believed they might

might be concerned in it, were for the Will, ſo it was ordered that it ſhould be Publiſhed, and that Funeral Honours ſhould be given to *Cæſar* at the expence of the Publick. *Brutus* and his Friends were ſoon adviſed of theſe Proceedings, ſo they judged it convenient to prevent the minds of the People, and for this deſign ſent to deſire them that they would come to the Capitol. When they were aſſembled there in a great number, *Brutus* preſenting himſelf, ſaid, *That they were not retired to that place as Offenders, who ſought a Sanctuary, but to prevent the misfortunes that might ariſe from the Affront which had been done to* Cinna, *that they had underſtood how their Enemies ſpoke of the death of* Cæſar, *as of a great Crime which broke all thoſe meaſures that could be taken with them for their ſafety, that this diſcourſe obliged them to declare their Innocence and good Intentions, that ſince the death of* Pompey, Cæſar *had always acted as an open Tyrant, that he had diſpoſed of great Charges and principal employments of his own head, and without the advice of the Senate; that he had turned two Tribunes out of their Offices, for no other reaſon than that they had taken the Crown from one of his Images, that by that means he was the firſt that had attempted to violate that reſpect which was due to Sacred Perſons. Beſides, that they did not believe any Oath was of force enough to oblige the maintenance of Tyranny, that in all other occaſions their words ſhould be Sacred and Inviolable; that for the rewards which* Cæſar *had promiſed, they were reſolved to allow of them*

in the name of the Commonwealth, that those who had already received Inheritances, should continue in the possession of them, and that such as had had their Lands taken from them, should have their Losses repaired out of the first money that came into the publick Treasury. This discourse was received with Acclamations, and the People admired the resolution of the Conspiratours; so by this means their minds being turned wholly in their favour, the next day in the Assembly of the Senate, *Cicero*'s Eloquence found it no hard matter to persuade, *That all which had passed might be forgotten.* His advice was seconded by *Plancus*, so an Amnesty or Act of Oblivion was published. *Antonius* and *Lepidus* sent their Children to the Capitol as Hostages for the Conspiratours security; so *Brutus* descended with all his Accomplices. At last for a Testimony of a sincere Reconciliation, *Antonius* entertained *Cassius* at Supper, and *Brutus* was at home with *Lepidus*. These last, who were Wise Men, parted very well in appearance, but as *Anthony* was a Laugher, and *Cassius* given to be Cholerick, their Conversation was not without some sharpness. *Antonius* asked *Cassius, If he had not yet a concealed Dagger? Yes,* answered *Cassius, and a sharp one too for those who dare aspire to the Tyranny,* which answer it is believed put a stop to any farther Jesting.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar's Will read publickly. Antonius *makes his Funeral Oration.*

THE fire of Diviſion began to be apparent to all ſuch as could diſcern any thing, the minds of the People were ſo well diſpoſed, that they doubted not but the Commonwealth would ſoon recover its ancient Majeſty. But thoſe who judged better were not ſo deceived, and amongſt others, *Atticus*, the particular Friend of *Cicero*, this was a Roman Knight of the firſt of that Order, which was diſtinguiſhed from that of the Senatours, the ſoftneſs of his Inclination, and the weakneſs of his Conſtitution had hindred him from ſignalizing himſelf in Wars, but the qualifications of his Mind, his Honeſty and his Sincerity, made him be conſidered as a Man of great Merit, and gained him many noble Friends; and though he had ſome in all Parties, and that the oppoſite Intereſt which imbroiled them, had raiſed amongſt them mortal hatreds, *Atticus* behaved himſelf evermore with ſuch dexterity, that he preſerved his intereſt in them all. This management preſerved him from the miſeries of the age he lived in, and gave him at laſt the Honour of ſeeing his Family Allied to the *Cæſars*, which conſidering the fury of the Civil Wars between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, that of the Triumvirate, and that

which followed, and how many noble Perſons periſhed in theſe Diviſions, I know not where we can find an Example like him. *Cicero* was of no great Birth, and had been often reproached for the Novelty of his Nobility, but the Beauty of his Wit, his Eloquence, wherein he exceeded the beſt Oratours of thoſe times, when that qualification was in its higheſt luſtre, and a certain kind of Courage which rendred him fearleſs upon every occaſion, that required not the drawing of his Sword, and where he managed the intereſt of the Commonwealth, had raiſed him to the higheſt Honours, he diſcharged the Conſulſhip with a great deal of Glory, in putting a ſtop to *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, ſo that in ſpeaking of it, he almoſt made himſelf ridiculous and inſupportable to his Friends, even *Brutus* could not forbear rallying of him for it very ſharply in a Letter which he wrote to *Atticus*, and which is ſtill extant. *Atticus* therefore, who knew how little aſſurance was to be had from the inconſtancy of the People, could not forbear declaring to his Friends his fears, leſt the opening of *Cæſar*'s Will, and the publick Honours that were to be done him, ſhould occaſion new Troubles. His apprehenſions were but too well grounded, for *Piſo* brought the Will, which was opened in *Antonius*'s Houſe, and read in the preſence of the People. *Octavius* the Grand-ſon of *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s Siſter, was by it Adopted to take upon him his Name, and conſtituted Heir of nine parts of his Eſtate,

Estate, and * *Pinarius* and *Pedius* of three other parts. To the Roman People he left the Gardens, which he had on the other side of the *Tiber*, and to every Citizen in particular 24 Drachma's. Amongst his second Heirs who were to inherit in case of Mortality according to Custome, he substituted *Decimus Brutus*, who was one of the Conspiratours. Several others also who had dipped their hands in his bloud, were named for Tutours to his Son, in case he had left one. At these Tokens of *Cæsar*'s Goodness, and his Affection for the People, none could forbear their Tears and Lamentations. But *Decimus*, his being substituted an Heir, provoked the Indignation of the whole Assembly. After this, *Piso* caused the Body to be brought forth with a great deal of Pomp, those who carried it were all Men in Office, and of the most Illustrious in the Senate. It was set down in the middle of the *Forum*, upon a place called the *Rostra*, with a guard of Armed Souldiers, in this place there was erected a little Temple of guilded Wood, according to the Model of that of *Venus*, which they called the Mother, because the Family of *Julus*, which was the name of the *Cæsars*, pretended to have their Original from that Goddess. In this little Temple was a Bed of Ivory, Magnificently Adorn'd with Curtains of Cloth of Gold and Purple, at the head of the Bed was a Trophy, with the Robe which he wore when he was assassinated. For the Pile, it was prepared

* Lucius Pinarius, *and* Quintus Pedius *were also* Cæsar's *Grand Nephews.*

in the Field of *Mars*. All the People ran to ſee this ſight, weeping and lamenting a new, even thoſe who bore Arms made a great noiſe, as if they demanded Vengeance. Now the Cuſtome among the Romans was, that one of the Kinſmen of the dead Man, one of his Friends, or at leaſt one of his Brethren in Office, ſhould ſpeak in his Praiſe. *Antonius*, who was Conſul with *Cæſar*, when he was ſlain, was his Friend alſo, and his Ally, ſo he laid hold of that occaſion for the improvement of what he deſigned, *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *though I alone preſent my ſelf to praiſe the Memory of that great Man, whoſe Body you ſee here before you, methinks I reade in your faces that upon this occaſion you are all of the ſame Opinion with me, and that there is not one of thoſe who hears me now, but in his heart praiſes him alſo. By this means, when I ſhall recount to you his great Actions, his Vertues, and then thoſe Honours wherewith the Senate and you afterwards have Rewarded them, I ſhall not ſpeak onely what I think my ſelf, but moreover as your Interpreter.* Then he made a report of all thoſe Titles of Honour which had been given to *Cæſar*, his Dictatourſhip, his being ſeveral times Conſul, with the Name of the Father of his Countrey, from thence he paſſed on to his Vertues, praiſing his Courage, his Eloquence, his Humanity, and his Mildneſs, *which was ſo great*, ſaid he, *that he was never able to withhold his good inclinations, even from thoſe who had offended him.* After this, he repeated the Oath which the People of *Rome* had made

to

to *Cæſar*, by which they ſwore, *That his Perſon ſhould be Sacred and Inviolable, and took the Gods to Witneſs, that they would defend it with the hazard of their lives.* But obſerving at this diſcourſe ſome alteration in ſeveral of the Senatours, he concluded with ſaying, *That what had been done ought to be forgotten, that it was the Crime of ſome Demons that were Enemies to* Rome, *rather than Men, and that nothing now ought farther to be thought of, than the Honouring of the Memory of the Illuſtrious Dead, and placing him amongſt the Gods.*

CHAP. VII.

The Pomp of Cæſar's *Funeral. The Riſing of the People of* Rome, *and their Fury againſt the Conſpiratours.*

WHILE this Diſcourſe laſted, one of thoſe who were called *Archimimi*, (who aſſiſted where great Men were to attend, and often repreſented them) as if ſome Fury had poſſeſſed him, tore *Cæſar*'s Robe off from the Trophy, and ſhewed it to the People, crying out, *That it was the ſpoil of a Perſon beloved of the Gods, and reverenced of all the People even to Adoration.* He added ſeveral things of the like nature in a terrible Tone, and weeping between while with Outcries, and ſtrange poſtures of Sorrow, which ſtirred up the compaſſion of the People. At the ſame time was to be ſeen the Figure of *Cæſar* in Wax, which moved it ſelf by Springs, and ſhewed the Wounds which he had received upon his face, and in his Body, this ſight tranſported the People even to Madneſs, they cryed out, *They would inflict moſt cruel puniſhments on thoſe that had murthered him.* Some propoſed the burning the Body in the Capitol, to doe him the more Honour, others ſaid, *That that duty ought to be paid him in the Hall of* Pompey, when two Armed Men carrying each of them two Javelins, ſet fire with Flambeaus to the little Temple where the Bed was, ſo every

every Body ran thither, ſome with the firſt bits of Wood they could get together, others with the Benches and Chairs of the Magiſtrates, who held Courts of Juſtice in that place, ſo that the Body, the Bed, and the Temple were all conſumed in a moment. All Authours agree in this, but *Plutarch* ſays, *That he who ſhewed* Cæſar's *Robe to the People, was* Antonius *himſelf.* Now as the commotion of a furious People runs always to extremity, many round about the Funeral Pile took up flaming Brands, and ran to ſet fire to the Conſpiratours Houſes, who being all of the moſt Illuſtrious Families of *Rome*, by the great number of their Domeſticks repulſed the Violence, ſo the People retired with terrible Threats, which very much affrighted them, they reaſonably judged that there was no longer ſafety for them in the City, eſpecially after an extraordinary Accident which arrived at the ſame time. One of *Cæſar*'s Friends, who was a Verſifier, and to his Misfortune, called *Cinna*, had dreamt the night before that *Cæſar* had invited him to Supper, and upon his refuſal had taken him by the hand, and forcibly dragged him into a dark place, this dream had given him a Fever, nevertheleſs that hindred him not from riſing to go and pay his laſt Offices to his Friend, he came juſt in the nick of time, when the People were returning in rage from the Conſpiratours Houſes, when ſome body unluckily called him by his Name, and that Name ſo odious for the ſake of the other

other *Cinna*, who had made an Oration the day before, was as a ſignal for them to fall upon him with ſuch rage, that the poor Wretch was torn in a thouſand pieces in a moment. There are a hundred other inſtances how much *Ceſar* was beloved, the old Souldiers, who had ſerved under him, threw into the fire all their Coronets, Pikes, Bracelets, and other Tokens of Honour which he had given them. A great many Ladies of Quality alſo threw in their Childrens Robes and Ornaments, with every thing which they had of Value about them. All the Strangers who were at *Rome*, mourned after their Cuſtoms, and particularly the Jews, who watched ſeveral nights at the Pile. At laſt Divine Honours were given him, and an Altar was erected in the place where he had been burnt, and where *Octavius Ceſar*, ſince called *Auguſtus*, cauſed a Temple to be built, and a Pillar of Jaſpar, twenty foot high, with this Title, *To the Father of his Countrey.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Artifices of Antonius. *He procures himſelf Guards.* Brutus *and* Caſſius *withdraw from* Rome. Antonius *gets the Government of* Macedonia *for his Brother.* Cyrene *is given to* Caſſius, *and* Bithynia *to* Brutus.

THE Commotions and Fury of the People made the Senatours very much ſuſpect the Conduct of *Antonius*, who had ſtill need of their favour, ſo he reſolved to regain it by a deſperate undertaking, which happened to pleaſe them. *Amatius*, who called himſelf the Son of *Marius*, committed great diſorders in the City with ſome People whom the reputation of his Father had gathered about him. *Antonius* cauſed him to be apprehended and ſlain without more formality. The Senate approved the Action, ſince it aſſured the Conſpiratours, amongſt the others *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, whom thoſe Mutineers had threatned. But the manner of this Proceeding did not pleaſe them, and *Antonius*'s boldneſs made them afraid. *Amatius* his People publickly complained, and Aſſembled themſelves about the Altar of *Cæſar*, whence *Antonius* and his Collegue *Dollabella* cauſed the Souldiers to diſperſe them, and *Dollabella* erected a Statue with this Inſcription, *To the good Father*, which very much diſpleaſed *Cicero*. This provoked the Mutineers, they came together the next day

day in the ſame place where they appeared, waſhing the foot of the Altar and the Statue with their tears; at laſt their Compaſſion was turned into Madneſs, and they ran to the place where the Image which *Dollabella* had ſet up, was guarded, to ſet it on fire, but *Dollabella* commanded them to be fallen upon, where many were killed, and of thoſe who were taken, the Slaves by his order were hanged, and the others thrown down Rocks. This Chaſtiſement appeaſed the Sedition, but it made the Conſuls hatefull to the People. *Antonius* preſerved himſelf well with the Senate, and to gain them intirely, propoſed the recalling of the young *Pompey*, and that ſome Recompence might be allotted him for the loſs of his Father's Eſtate, and the Command of the Fleets put into his hands. Theſe things extremely pleaſed all the Senatours to ſee the ſafety of *Brutus* and the other Conſpiratours, as well as the Authority of *Pompey*'s Party eſtabliſhed. *Cicero* praiſed *Anthony*, and in an Eloquent Oration thanked him in the Senate; *Anthony* took this occaſion to demand Guards for the ſafety of his Perſon, nor was there any who durſt refuſe it a Magiſtrate who had ſacrificed himſelf to the hatred of the People for the intereſt of the Senate. Upon this pretence he raiſed about 6000 Men, all old Souldiers, who had ſerved under *Julius Cæſar*, and almoſt all of them Men fit to Command. This was the firſt, but not the onely ſtep which the Senate made againſt their own

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Intereſt, and it was wonderfull to ſee the moſt diſcerning Perſons of ſo refined an age act with ſo much inconſtancy as then appeared in all their proceedings. But they ſoon repented of what they had agreed to, and it was remonſtrated to *Antonius*, That ſo great a number of Guards were but unprofitable as well as odious. He promiſed to reduce them when the hatred of the People ſhould be appeaſed. In the mean time he gained to his intereſt *Cæſar*'s Secretary, called *Faberius*, and by that means made himſelf Maſter of all his Memorials. Now there had been publiſhed a general approbation of all that *Cæſar* had ordained, and under this pretence *Antonius* by the help of the Secretary brought into the Senate People wholly in his Intereſt, he called home the baniſhed Men, created new Officers, and all, ſaid he, in purſuance of *Cæſar*'s Memorials, which he faſhioned according to his fancy; the People laughed at theſe Officers and new Senatours, calling them * *Charonitæ*, and all this was the occaſion that new diſtruſts aroſe, and thoſe of the Conſpiratours, to whom *Cæſar* had given Governments, withdrew themſelves, *Decimus* into the Ciſalpine *Gall*, which is to ſay, *Piedmont*, the Countrey of *Milan*, and all that which is called *Lombardy*, *Tribonius* into *Aſia*, *Cimber* into *Bithynia*, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* had *Macedonia* and *Syria*. They would not yet abandon the City and their Friends, ſo they tryed if they could make their Authority prevail as they were Pretors, but as they

* *By reaſon of* Charon's *Bark that* Cæſar *had paſſed in.*

they could not ſecure themſelves of the minds of the People, they lived as private Men, and wrote to their Friends to fortify in their Provinces. The Proceedings of *Antonius* increaſed dayly their Suſpicions, and that private life of theirs ſeemed a kind of diſhonour to the Senate, whoſe Idols (to ſpeak properly) they were, ſo they were ordered to go and procure Victualling and Proviſions of Corn for the City, to the end that they might have a plauſible pretence of quitting it, and afterwards retire themſelves to their Governments, without making their Retreat look like a flight. Of this *Antonius* failed not to make good advantage, his two Brothers, ſirnamed *Cajus* and *Lucius*, were the one Pretor, and the other Tribune, ſo that he being Conſul, the Authority of theſe three great Offices made him almoſt abſolute in the Government of the Commonwealth. He had an inclination to the Government of *Syria*, but he ſaw very well that the asking of it would onely increaſe the diſtruſt of the Senate, where already many deſigns were on Foot againſt his Intereſt, and which alſo he was very well informed of. *Dolabella* his Collegue in the Conſulſhip had been drawn into that buſineſs, but *Antonius*, who knew his Unconſtancy and his Ambition, cunningly perſuaded him to demand the Government of *Syria*, and the Army which *Caeſar* had prepared againſt the Parthians. The young Man ran preſently into the ſnare, and when it was Remonſtrated to him, *That that Propo-*

Propoſition was contrary to the Ordinances of Cæſar; He anſwered, *That* Cæſar's *deſign was to make War upon the Parthians, that as to his Decrees,* Caſſius *had firſt miſtaken them in permitting the old Souldiers to ſell the Inheritances which had been given them, and which* Cæſar *had expreſly forbidden, that for what remained, it would be an affront to him to believe that* Caſſius *had any advantage over him either in Courage or in Conduct.* The Senate thus intangled, went another way to work, they reſolved to perſuade one of the Tribunes, called *Aſprinas*, to find out ſome Religious reaſon for the oppoſing of this Propoſition, when it ſhould come before the People under the pretence of Thunder, or ſome other unlucky Omen. All the Roman Hiſtories are full of this kind of Superſtition, and after this manner the People fanſied to themſelves either fortunate or unlucky Preſages upon unlucky Omens, their Aſſemblies always ſeparated, and the ſqueeking of a Mouſe would frequently fright them from their debates of the higheſt importance. The Cunning Men made the right uſe of this weakneſs, when any thing was propoſed which did not pleaſe them, and this was the deſign of the Senate, which they thought ought to have been promoted by *Antonius*, he being one of the College of *Augures* (who were a certain ſort of Dignitaries that judged of theſe kind of Omens) and who they imagined wiſhed the Government of *Syria* for himſelf. But theſe were falſe meaſures, for *Antonius* ſeized upon

upon the Tribune as an Impoſtour, and was the occaſion that *Dolabella* got the Province, and the Army afterwards. He demanded *Macedonia* for his Brother *Cajus*, which none durſt refuſe him. All that the Senate could doe, was to put the Friends of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* alſo upon demanding other Provinces inſtead of thoſe that had been taken from them, which they obtained, to *Caſſius* was given *Cyrene* upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, with that of *Crete*, at preſent called *Candia*, and *Bithynia* to *Brutus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Octavius *the grand Nephew of* Cæsar, *comes to* Rome *against the Opinion of his Kindred, he declares himself* Cæsar's *Heir, and takes upon him his Name.*

IN the mean time news arrived at *Rome*, that *Octavius* the grand Nephew of *Cæsar*, whom he had Adopted and declared his chief Heir, was coming to enter upon his Succession. *Octavius*, so famous since by the Name of *Augustus Cæsar*, was of a very Ancient and Illustrious Family in *Italy*, but he came out of a branch of that Family which had not been much advanced. He was handsome, and so very beautifull, that it acquired him Veneration, he had a great deal of Wit, which was subtile and cunning, a lofty Mind, of extreme Wisedom, and very insinuating Conversation. *Cæsar*, who had not any nearer Kinsman, took a great deal of care of his Education, and he improved so well under so good a Master, that his Merit advanced him to the Empire of the World. He governed with so great Wisedom and Moderation, that the Prudence and Mildness of *Augustus* have been ever since wished to his Successours: though he was now but very young, his Unkle caused him to exercise the charge of General of the Cavalry for one complete year, and afterwards sent him to *Appollonia*, a City upon

the Coaſt of *Epirus*, to complete his Studies and his Exerciſes, thither came to him dayly the principal Commanders of the Troops of that Province, and even the Souldiers alſo to make their Court to him, and entertain him with Combates and Games; after having ſtaid about ſix months in that City, he underſtood the death of *Cæſar*, and all his Friends adviſed to ſeek Protection from the Troops of that Province, who had ſerved under *Cæſar*, and ſtill honoured his Memory. His Mother was Married again to a Man of Quality, called *Martius Philippus*, ſo they both wrote to him by way of advice, *To undertake nothing that might bring trouble upon him, but that he would take warning by his Unkle, and come to* Rome *to them, where he might lead a quiet and peaceable life, and that they would take care of his preſervation.* Theſe different Counſels were enough to intangle a Man who was now but eighteen years of Age. But of all the Counſels that were propoſed to him, he reſolved upon the moſt honeſt and the moſt generous, which was, *To revenge the death of his Unkle*, ſo he put himſelf on Ship-board, and came and landed at a certain little Town near *Brunduſium*, where he was informed of what had been done at *Rome* ſince the death of *Cæſar*, and though he had received freſh Letters from his Mother, nevertheleſs fully reſolved to declare himſelf Heir to the Fortune and Name of *Cæſar*. With this deſign he went to *Brunduſium*, after being firſt well aſſured that none of the Murtherers of his Unkle

Unkle were in the place, ſuch of *Cæſar*'s old Souldiers as were Quartered in that City, came out to meet him, and did him Honours as the Son of their General. He made a Sacrifice to the Gods, and after having according to the Roman Cuſtome taken upon him the Name of his Adoptive Father; all his Friends, his Slaves, his Freed-men, and many other Souldiers came to him upon the News. The very Arms, Money and Proviſion which were ſent to the Troops of *Macedonia*, were brought to him, and this happy beginning put him upon his march towards *Rome*, in his Journey thither he ſaw *Cicero*, who avoided the calling of him *Cæſar*, though every body elſe at that time did it, *becauſe*, ſays he, *in a Letter* Philip *himſelf did not doe it, and that no good Citizen ought ſo long as he is attended with ſuch as threaten our Friends.* Nevertheleſs he remained not long in this Opinion, and *Octavius* arriving at laſt at *Rome*, declared to his Friends, *That notwithſtanding their fears, he could not but think himſelf unworthy of life, ſhould he not uſe his utmoſt indeavours to revenge the death of* Cæſar. It is ſaid, that his Mother imbraced him at theſe words, and approved of his Deſign. Now *Antonius* had ſent no body out to meet him, which coldneſs of proceeding much augmented the fears of young *Cæſar*'s Friends. But he declared how he thought it very juſt that a young Man, of but a private condition as he was, ſhould make the firſt ſteps towards *Antonius*, who was his Seniour, and a

Consul; so he besought his Friends to bear him company to that visit the next morning, who all attended him accordingly; as he was going thither, he met *Cajus*, *Antonius* his Brother, who was Pretor, and took that occasion to declare to him his Adoption, and caused it to be registred according to Custome.

CHAP. X.

Octavius *visits* Antonius, *who receives him very ill. His demands, and* Antonius *his Answer.*

Octavius was forc't to wait a great while at *Antonius*'s Gate, who nevertheless at last received him with a great deal of Complement and Ceremony, after which they were come to the Point. Young *Cæsar* began, and highly praised *Antonius*, to whom he confessed he had many obligations, after which, he modestly complained to him, *For that he had suffered a Pardon to pass for* Cæsar's *Murtherers, whom he might have punished with as much severity, and as Arbitrarily as he had done* Amatius. *That he had also gone farther, and given his advice for the allotting of them Provinces and Governments, when he himself presided in the Senate as Consul.* He handsomely represented to him *Cæsar*'s Friendship, and the good Offices he had done him, adding, *That* Cæsar *would have adopted him, had he*

he not been perſuaded that a Man, as he was, deſcended from Hercules, *would have made a ſcruple of entring into the Family of* Æneas: *He conjured him by the Memory of his Father to aſſiſt him in revenging his death, at leaſt not to oppoſe the deſign he had of proceeding in it. He gave him to underſtand that he was reſolved to ſatisfy what was ſtipulated in the Will, and to diſtribute amongſt the People and the Souldiers what* Cæſar *had left them. Nevertheleſs, having little Fortune of his own, he deſired him to deliver him fourteen hundred and fifteen thouſand Crowns out of the Money which* Cæſar *had left, and to lend him as much more out of the publick ſtock as he ſhould have occaſion for. That for the Moveables and Goods, them he might keep, he being contented to allow them as marks and remembrances of* Cæſar's *affection.* Antonius amazed at the young Man's Confidence, and being piqued at the laſt Article of his diſcourſe, told him, *That there might have been ſome reaſon for what he urged, had* Cæſar *left him heir of the Roman Empire as well as of his Name and Fortune, but that the Sovereign Authority had no Title of Succeſſion in* Rome, *and that therefore he ought not to demand reaſons of him for what he had done in the Government of the Commonwealth. That for the obligations which he thought he owed him, he was willing to diſpenſe with them, ſince what he had done was without any proſpect of his Service, and onely deſigned for the good of his Countrey. That nevertheleſs he had not forgotten* Cæſar's *Friendſhip, but had ſecured to him thoſe Honours due to his Memory, even to the hazard*

of his own life. That for the rest, he had permitted it, because 'twas not in his power to have opposed it without declaring himself a Friend to Tyranny. That nevertheless his want of experience was excusable, which had hindred him from taking these things into his consideration, though it would require some to be sensible that the advantages arising to him from his Succession to Cæsar, did onely in part belong to him, that he was not at all jealous of his good Fortune, though by his own Confession, it might as well have happened to himself, since Cæsar would have adopted him, had he not been of the Race of Hercules. That as to Cæsar's Money, it did not amount to so great a sum as he imagined, a great part of it belonging to the publick, which he had given his orders for inquiring into, since Cæsar himself (had he lived) would not have taken it ill to have been made accountable that another part had been divided amongst the Officers, besides Dollabella his Brother, and himself, who had refused the receiving any of it. That in truth he had distributed it amongst those to whom Cæsar had ordained it, and was ready to put the remainder into his hands, but that if he were Wise, he would employ it for the satisfaction of such as had reason of complaint either against his Father or himself, and for the sending back that shoal of followers who accompanied him into their Colonies, rather than give it to the People, it being a surprizing thing that a man so knowing as he was in the Grecian History, should seem to rely upon popular affection, which was more inconstant than the Waves of the Ocean.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Octavius *falls out with* Antonius. *He gains the affections of the People.* Antonius *sends for the Macedonian Army into* Italy.

THese words, and this proceeding of *Antonius* offending young *Cæsar*, he took his leave of him, repeating several times as he went out of the door the name of his Father, so he resolved to convert all his own Fortune, and what more amounted to him from his Succession to *Cæsar* into ready Money, by that means to put himself into a condition of satisfying the People, and gaining their favour, whereof he knew that *Antonius* had but a small share, by reason of his Inquisition into the publick Money. This design of his made the Senate afraid of him, though they were not at all disturbed to see him fall out with *Antonius*, because they hoped that that Division might weaken them both, and so make their Ruine more easie, and that the publick Treasury would be improved by what should arrive to it out of *Cæsar*'s Estate. Now the time was come, that *Brutus* was to give the Games, these Games were certain magnificent Shews which the Magistrates at the going out of their Offices gave for the Divertisement of the People. There were to be seen the Combats of Gladiatours bred up and taught to cut one anothers Throats on purpose,

upon these occasions, the huntings of wild Beasts, every thing that could be found rare throughout the Provinces, Comedies, and Musick Prizes. In short, the expences of it would appear incredible to any who have not been acquainted with the greatness and riches of *Rome*. *Brutus* to be sure had spared no cost for the setting out of his Games, his Friends hoping that by that Magnificence he might regain the Friendship of the People. Nevertheless they durst not counsel him to appear there, because they were advised that a great number of *Cæsar*'s old Souldiers flocked dayly to *Rome*. In effect, young *Cæsar* having sold all he had, and distributed it amongst the most Factious of the People, proceeded now to selling the Goods of his Mother and Father-in-Law, forcing *Pedius* and *Pinarius* his Co-heirs in the Succession of *Cæsar*, to quit their parts to him, which he also sold, and immediately distributed accordingly. These things made a great noise amongst the People, who believed themselves now more obliged to him than to the very *Cæsar*, who had left them the Money. The Souldiers came also from all parts of *Italy* to partake of his liberality; so that though *Brutus* his Games were very Magnificent, and the People extremely pleased with them, his Friends no sooner demanded that he and *Cassius* might be recalled home, but *Cæsar*'s Party put a stop to the Shews, and would not let them go on till that request were absolutely rejected.

jected. It was eaſie to perceive that this refuſal was the work of young *Caſar*, and thoſe who before wondred at his boldneſs for making Head againſt *Anthony*, were now as much ſurprized at his Addreſs alſo and Power. By this means *Brutus* and *Caſſius* loſt all hopes of returning to *Rome*, and went one into *Macedonia*, and the other into *Syria*, they pretended that *Caſar* had allotted them thoſe Provinces which had ſince been unjuſtly taken from them, and *Dollabella*, whoſe intereſt was *Syria*, departed with all diligence to take poſſeſſion of his Government. *Antonius* very well knew at this time that he had need of new Forces, he had his Eyes upon the Army which was in *Macedonia*, compoſed of ſix Legions of ſeaſoned Souldiers, abundance of Lancers and Cavalry, with a great Equipage of Engines, and all ſorts of Ammunition, he was afraid leſt *Dollabella* ſhould take theſe Troops, and carry them againſt the Parthians, ſo he reſolved to ſend for them into *Italy*, and (to keep them the mean while in *Macedonia*) cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the *Getæ* had made an incurſion there with great powers. Now as his Brother was already Governour of that Province, it was his Opinion that the Command of thoſe Troops would not be deny'd him for the making head againſt thoſe Barbarians, when the Senate made an Order, that ſome body ſhould be ſent to inquire into the truth of that news. So *Antonius* taking notice how his Plot had alarum'd them, and

that

that they were afraid left he ſhould make himſelf Dictatour, propoſed, *That that Office might be aboliſhed for ever with free liberty to kill and deſtroy whomſoever ſhould have the boldneſs to offer at it.* This Propoſition ſo agreeable to all Parties, confirmed the Senate, when at laſt by under-hand management, and preſents which he made, *Antonius* obtained the Command of the Army. He ſent his Brother *Cajus* in all diligence to acquaint the Troops with the Decree of the Senate, with private orders to bring them into *Italy*, ſo thoſe Deputies who had been ſent to inquire into the ſtate of that Province, returned and brought word that the *Getæ* were not yet entred there, but that an erruption of them was expected.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Antonius *demands the Government of the Ciſalpine* Gaul. *He offends young* Cæſar. *The Souldiers oblige him to an agreement with him.* Antonius *gets the Government.*

IN the mean time *Brutus* and *Caſſius* made preparations for War, and *Tribonius*, whom they had ſent into *Aſia*, fortified the places of that Countrey, while *Antonius* Triumphed at *Rome*, all his Artifices ſucceeded in the Senate, and he thought there was nothing now which he might not hope for, *Gaul*, where *Decimus* Commanded, appeared very convenient for his deſigns, ſo he was not afraid to demand the Government of it out of the confidence he had in his Authority. This Propoſition began to open the Eyes of the Senatours, who now ſaw openly the Ambition of *Antonius*, ſo they abſolutely rejected his Demands, and ſent Deputies to *Decimus*, to adviſe him, *To ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the pretenſions of* Antonius, *who was now reſolved to obtain that from the People, which had been refuſed him by the Senate.* But to the end that he might firſt try all means of preſerving himſelf in their favour, he took an occaſion of falling out with young *Cæſar*, whoſe Power already began to be formidable. *Critonius*, who was *Ædilis*, was to give Games to the People, according to the Cuſtome I before mentioned. It was Ordained,

ned, That the Image of *Cæſar* ſhould aſſiſt at all the Shews, placed in a Magnificent Seat, and Crowned with Gold. Now as his Adopted Son cauſed the Seat to be brought, *Critonius* oppoſed him upon the place, ſaying, *He would not allow that* Cæſar *ſhould be honoured at his expence.* Young *Cæſar* made his Complaints of this to the Conſul, who was *Antonius*, but he refuſed to doe him Juſtice, ſaying, *That it was none of his buſineſs to interpoſe in that matter*; at which, *Octavius* being provoked, fiercely replyed, *In ſpight of the uneaſineſs of thoſe Men who are thus impertinently ſqueamiſh, my Father's Image ſhall appear in the place that is deſigned for it, nay, and by your own Decree too.* Theſe words offended *Antonius*, or rather to ſpeak properly, *Antonius* had a mind to be offended: ſo he reproached young *Cæſar*, that all his Proceedings tended to the ſtirring up of the People, and threatned him to commit him to Priſon, forbidding him at laſt to bring his Father's Image, not onely to *Critonius* his Games, but even to thoſe which *Cæſar* himſelf was to exhibit in Honour of his Father before the Temple of *Venus*. Theſe prohibitions appeared ſo full of Injuſtice and Violence, that they extremely exaſperated the People, ſo young *Cæſar* made the right uſe of the Quarrel, for he went into the publick Places, where he complained of the injury done to the Memory of his Father. *Wherefore*, ſaid he, (as if *Antonius* had been himſelf preſent) *ſhould thy hatred to me extend it ſelf to* Cæſar, *who*

has

has deſerved ſo well of thee? I am ready joyfully to Sacrifice my ſelf to thy Revenge, provided thou wilt have regard to the Memory of my Father, who preferred thee above all other Friendſhips; I here to thy inſatiable Avarice freely abandon all the Fortune which he left to me, onely permit me enough wherewith to ſatisfy his laſt deſires, I beg this of thee for the Peoples ſake, and not my own, for I ſhall think my ſelf rich and honourable enough if I can but doe juſtice to his Memory in diſtributing amongſt the People what he has left them. This diſcourſe was immediately ſpread all over the City, and made ſo great impreſſion, that *Antonius* began to be deſperate, and threatned Revenge. When *Cæſar*'s Friends, and even the old Souldiers, whom *Antonius* had taken for his Guards, remonſtrated to him, *How ſhamefull it was in this manner to wrong the Memory of their General as well as his own, ſince it would turn at laſt to their confuſion, and purchaſe him but little Honour.* As he had need of theſe People, he thought fit to hearken to them, and after having complained of young *Cæſar*'s Proceedings, whom he accuſed of Arrogance, and aſpiring to an equality with himſelf, who was elder than he, and of an eſtabliſhed Reputation, he ſaid, *That he was willing that all things might be forgotten in complyance to the deſires of ſo many brave men.* He had beſides this, another reaſon for his complyance. He was now to try what Reputation *Cæſar* had amongſt the People, which he pretended he would make uſe of for his aſſiſtence in getting the Province

vince of *Gall*, ſo the Souldiers obliged them to ſee one another, and they parted good Friends. Immediately *Antonius* cauſed the Law to be publiſhed for his Government, and notwithſtanding all the Senate could doe with the Tribunes, *Cæſar*'s underhand management with the People, the many Armed Souldiers which he brought to the Aſſembly in favour of *Antonius* againſt *Decimus*, who had been one of his Father's Murtherers, and *Antonius*'s Money, wherewith he had corrupted the Tribunes, made the Law paſs, and he got the Government.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

New Quarrels between Antonius *and* Cæſar. Cicero *declares himſelf for* Cæſar. *He offends* Antonius *in his Orations.*

ANTONIUS having now gotten what he wiſhed for, began to contrive according to his Maximes how to reſtore himſelf with the Senate, and whether it were that he little valued young *Cæſar*, or whether it were by a ſecret motion of that Antipathy which afterwards ſo much declared it ſelf, and was at laſt the cauſe of his deſtruction, he ſeemed not to take much care how he diſguſted him, ſo he might re-unite himſelf with the Senate. It is true, that there was a ſtrong oppoſition between theſe two Spirits, but *Cæſar*'s had the advantage, and there runs a ſtory upon this occaſion, that a certain famous Ægyptian Aſtrologer told him one day in the preſence of *Cleopatra*, *That his Fortune, which was ſo Illuſtrious at preſent, ſhould loſe all its ſplendour when it came near to that of* Cæſar, *and therefore adviſed him always to ſhun that young man as much as poſſible; becauſe*, ſaid he to *Antonius*, *thy Genius is afraid of his.* In effect, notwithſtanding all the Alliances which their common intereſt could form between them, they were always embroiled till the death of *Antonius*. The pretence they now took was this, one of the Tribunes of the People being dead, *Cæſar*

ſar recommended *Flaminius* to the place, this made the People believe that he had a mind to it himſelf, and gave him to underſtand, *That he might eaſily carry it by their Votes.* This Teſtimony of their Eſteem for him alarum'd the Senate, who fearing leſt he ſhould make uſe of the Authority of that Office for the revenging the death of his Father, reſolved to oppoſe it, and *Antonius* publiſhed a Decree, by which he forbad any man to aſſiſt *Cæſar*, who not being yet a Senatour, could not according to Law pretend to that Dignity. Theſe prohibitions provoked the People, who looked upon their Authority by this means ſtruck at, ſo upon the day of the Aſſembly, *Antonius* had the misfortune to ſee his Reputation ſhaken, as well as his life in great hazard, inſomuch that he was forced to permit the Tribunes to cancell his Decree; ſo *Flaminius* had the Office, and *Cæſar* well perceived that it was now time for him to take meaſures againſt the unconſtancy of *Antonius*, whoſe credit and aſſiſtence was like to coſt more than it was worth; ſo he ſent Deputies to ſuch Souldiers as had ſerved under his Father, and were now divided up and down *Italy*, ſending alſo into the very Army of *Antonius*, a ſort of Manifeſto, Copies whereof he cauſed to be ſcattered about the Camp. Beſides this, he took a reſolution of applying himſelf to the Senate, and *Cicero*, whom *Philippus* had gained to his Party, with all his Credit was aſſiſting to the deſign. Now there was at this

this time a cruel feud betwixt *Cicero* and *Antonius*, and their hatred had been declared by the furious declamations which they made againſt one another in the Senate; thoſe of *Cicero* remain ſtill amongſt us, and are called his *Philippicks*, becauſe he has there imitated *Demoſthenes*, who wrote after the ſame manner againſt King *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*. The twelfth is very admirable in its kind, and from the firſt we may learn the cauſes of their Diviſion. *Cicero* being wearied with the troubles of *Rome*, and grieved at the retreat of *Brutus*, had reſolved to go into *Greece*, there to lead a more peaceable life. He had been twice on Ship-board with this deſign, but the winds were both times againſt him, and he was forc'd to come aſhore again at *Rhegium*: In this place he underſtood the ſpeech that *Antonius* had made for the aboliſhing the Dictatourſhip, and the great hopes which appeared from that action of Re-eſtabliſhing Liberty; ſo his thoughts of retirement ſoon forſook him, and nothing, as he ſaid himſelf, could ſatisfy his impatience to be once more at *Rome*. He was received there with extreme Joy, and almoſt every body went out to meet him. Now the Senate was to aſſemble the next day, but *Cicero* would not be there, and feigned himſelf ſick. It was ſaid, That he had received advice of ſome deſign againſt his life, but when, according to Cuſtome the Senatours were called, and one of his Friends reported the cauſe of his abſence, *Antonius*,

who preſided as he was Conſul, ſaid, *That he would go ſeek him, and carry ſo many People with him as ſhould bring him away Houſe and all.* *Cicero* in a ſpeech made at another meeting, complained of this outrage of the Conſul; *Antonius* anſwered him ſharply, and reproached him, for that upon the day of *Cæſar*'s Murther, *Brutus* holding his bloudy Dagger in his hand, had called upon *Cicero*, and declared to him the return of Liberty. This it was that occaſioned the Rupture between theſe two Men, which appeared more plain in the ſecond Oration, and this diſpoſition of mind made *Cicero* ſo warm for the intereſt of young *Cæſar*, and laid the foundations of that Power, to which afterwards he raiſed himſelf.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Antonius *and* Cæſar *meet at the Capitol. They fall out again.* Cæſar *raiſes Troops.*

WHILE thoſe Libels which were ſcattered up and down the Camp of *Antonius* were taking effect there, the Souldiers who were at *Rome* gave him to underſtand, *That they were not well ſatisfied of the miſunderſtanding between him and* Cæſar, *which was like to ruine all hopes of revenging the death of their General, ſince they expected that revenge from him and young* Cæſar, *as two of the neareſt Relation and Intereſt; but that if they proceeded in the courſe they had taken, they would but betray themſelves to their own Enemies, and expoſe their Friends to puniſhment.* *Antonius* thought he was obliged to juſtify himſelf, and therefore in a long Harangue gave them an account of his Conduct, letting them underſtand, *That all his proceedings hitherto had tended to nothing elſe but the revenge they wiſhed for*; he ſhewed them all the turnings and windings that he had made uſe of to bring this deſign about; ſo that they no longer found reaſons to doubt him, nor indeed did the Senate, who being informed of this diſcourſe, became perfectly acquainted with the depth of his intentions, and ſaw the deſign of his wicked Policy. At laſt, thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to re-unite *Antonius* and *Cæſar*, perſuaded them to an interview at the Capitol,

pitol, where they promiſed each other Friendſhip, though it laſted not long, for ſome few days afterwards, *Antonius* cauſed ſeveral of his Guards to be ſeized upon, ſaying, *That* Cæſar *had wrought with them to kill him.* But this matter has never been well laid open: ſome ſay, *That it was onely a ſuppoſition of* Antonius. Others, *That it was really truth, and that the Senate, with whom* Cæſar *was at that time upon very good terms, would gladly have been rid of* Antonius *by ſuch a means.* There was indeed great appearance of the truth of this, for the wiſeſt of the Senatours, who imagined that when they were once rid of this Enemy, the other would be ruined more eaſily, declared, *That* Cæſar *had juſt reaſons to revenge himſelf upon* Antonius, *and that the wicked proceedings which he had made uſe of, would have provoked any other man as well as he to reſent them.* Now *Cæſar* boldly threw this ſuſpicion back in the teeth of *Antonius*, he went himſelf to his Gates to demand Juſtice, crying out, *That he deſired for his Judges no other than his own Friends.* The People without farther inquiry into the matter, condemned *Antonius*, and ſome there are who believe that all this buſineſs was agreed upon before hand between thoſe two Parties for the accompliſhment of their deſigns, ſo very uncertain are the judgments of Men in matters of importance. At laſt *Cæſar* underſtanding that *Antonius* was gone to *Brunduſium* to appeaſe ſome Commotion which was beginning there, and to recommend him-

himſelf to the Troops of *Macedonia*, whom *Cajus* had brought into *Italy*, and that he would ſoon return again with a great Guard, upon advice thereof, reſolved to viſit ſuch Cities as had been eſtabliſhed by his Father, and bring them intirely into his intereſt; ſo he went to *Cerere* and *Silio*, which are two places not far from *Capua*, where he raiſed Money, and by promiſing 500 Drachma's by head to every one that would follow him, he raiſed about 10000 Men, who were not indeed regulated Troops, but nevertheleſs were ſuch as had ſerved in the Wars under *Julius Cæſar*, ſo he put them all under one Colours as a Guard for his Perſon, and thus accompanied, returned to *Rome*; now the fear was ſo much the greater in the City, for that *Antonius* was expected there, who brought Troops with him alſo; ſo the Opinions of Men began to be very much divided, ſome went and took party with *Cæſar*; others declared themſelves for *Antonius*, and (as it dayly happens to thoſe Men, who are ſo very wiſe, that they can reſolve of nothing,) a great many upon this occaſion were ſo afraid of taking wrong meaſures, that they took none at all. Now a certain Tribune called *Carnutius*, who was a great Enemy to *Antonius*, would have obliged the Roman People to join with *Cæſar*, ſo he went to find him out at the Temple of *Mars*, which is fifteen Stades from *Rome*, from whence he brought, and cauſed him to lodge in the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*.

Cæsar's Souldiers drew up about the Temple, when *Carnutius* fell upon declaiming against *Antonius*, and praising the Conduct of *Cæsar*. Now there were at this time in *Rome* several Souldiers of the Macedonian Army, who could not bear that their General should be spoken ill of, and declared their Resentments. *Cæsar*'s Men replyed upon them. But as they were for the most part without Arms, matters staid there, and went no farther. This unseasonable accident made him very uneasie, and a great part of his People asking leave of him to go and get Arms, he granted it, keeping onely three thousand Men about his Person; nevertheless, those who had quitted him, being accustomed to a Warlike life, could not find in their hearts to stay at home, so they returned again to him very well appointed, and he having in the mean time furnished himself with Money about *Ravenna*, and the other Cities, he joining them with the other Troops, made a considerable body, and put them into Quarters about *Aretium*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Antonius *joins his Army, but is not well received. He returns to* Rome. *Two of his Legions desert him, and go to* Cæsar's *Army.* Antonius's *force.*

WHILE these matters were transacted, *Antonius* went and joyned himself with his Army, which was composed of four Legions of those six which had been in *Macedonia.* They received him with a great deal of coldness and silence, which extremely troubled him, for it was the Custome for a General to be always received with great Acclamations, and to have a speech made to him in the name of the Army. But these contented themselves to follow him without speaking a word as far as his Tribunal. Their discontent proceeded from the little care which he had taken to revenge the death of *Cæsar*, whom those Souldiers loved most passionately. *Antonius* was not able to hide the disorder he was under, but discovered it in the discourse he made to them, and wherewith they were offended, especially in Relation to what he spoke against young *Cæsar*, he complained to them, *That they had entertained his Messengers, and suffered them to carry on Intrigues in his Camp without giving him advice of the disorder.* But in the end to flatter them, he promised to carry them into *Gall*, which was a rich

and fruitfull Province, and offered to each Man 50 Drachma's: Theſe offers were ſo mean in the Opinion of the Souldiers, that laughing aloud, they derided him, and at laſt went away without hearing of him any farther. This inſolence of theirs re-doubled the anger of *Antonius*, ſo he deſcended from his Tribunal, ſaying, *That he would teach them Obedience*, and immediately Commanded the Colonels of the Legions to bring him their Rolls, they always had them about them, and knew the humour and inclinations of their Souldiers. *Antonius* picked out the moſt Mutinous amongſt them, and made them an Example, though their puniſhment ſerved onely to provoke the reſt. This *Caſar*'s Emiſſaries knew very well how to make their advantage of, ſo they ſcattered about new Libels againſt the Avarice and Cruelty of *Antonius*, which he was adviſed of, and Commanded that thoſe Men ſhould be delivered into his hands, with terrible threatnings if he were not obeyed. But all his diligence was to no purpoſe, no body would diſcover them, and he was ſtrangely amazed at that fidelity which ſeemed to be a general Conſpiracy againſt him. This joyned to the news of what progreſs *Caſar* had made, put him upon making a new tryal of the Spirits of his Souldiers, he excuſed himſelf to them, *That for the maintaining of Military Diſcipline, he had been forc't to bring Mutineers to puniſhment, that the offer he had made them of* 50 *Drachma's ought not to be lookt upon*

upon by them as intended for a reward, ſince it was neither proportionable to his liberality, nor their merit, for that he intended it onely as a ſmall mark of his acknowledgment. He put them into the bargain upon great hopes, but ſaid not a word of augmenting the ſum, leſt it might be believed that he had given way to the inſolence of his Souldiers. *Julius Cæſar* had always proceeded in this manner, nor ever gave way to any Sedition, but on the contrary appeared always to be moſt bold, when his Friends were trembling for his ſafety. Upon theſe occaſions one word onely pronounced with Authority was ſufficient to quell a Mutiny, and this was indeed the effect of ſuch an eſteem as is ſupported by extraordinary Merit. Nevertheleſs, this manner of proceeding has not ſucceeded with every body, nor did *Antonius* find it ſeaſonable, though he afterwards changed all the Officers, and put others in their places, whom he thought better diſpoſed towards him; ſo he Commanded them to march to *Rimini*, keeping onely a thouſand Men about his Perſon, with which he went to *Rome*. He made his entry there in a very fierce manner with his Souldiers in Arms, cauſing them to keep Watch and Guard about his Houſe, as if they had been in the Camp. But as he was deſigning to go to the Senate, and there complain againſt *Cæſar*, news was brought him that one of his Legions, called the *Martial*, was gone over to the contrary Party, which news very much amazed him; ſo that

that he doubted whether he ought to go to the Senate House or not, especially when he understood farther that the fourth Legion had followed the Example, and was revolted also. Nevertheless, he went thither, but spoke little, especially of the subject he came about. After this, he went to *Alba*, to try if he might reduce those two Legions which were retreated thither, they refused him entrance, which was the reason that he sent in all haste, and offered his Souldiers 500 Drachma's a Man, as *Cæsar* had done before him. From this place he went to *Tibur*, where his Ammunitions were lodged, and where such Troops as he had remaining (being confirmed by the offers he had made them) came and met him with an addition of the tenth Legion, which was newly arrived by Sea. The folly of the Senate and Roman People was again apparent upon this occasion: many of the Senatours, a great number of Knights, and several of the People ran to offer him their services, so that there became a Question in *Rome*, *In what Countrey lived the Enemies of* Antonius? They found him busie in receiving the Oaths of his Souldiery, which they themselves offered also to take. This action gave him great Reputation, and was the occasion that many of those People who had yet taken no Party, came and joined themselves with him, so that he marched to *Rimini* with four Legions of old Souldiers, a considerable number of Horsemen and Launcers, as also

one

one Legion of new raised Men; besides this, *Lepidus* had four more in *Spain*, *Asinius Pollio* two, *Plancus* also Commanded three in the Transalpine *Gall*, and at this time all those Leaders appeared in the interests of *Antonius*.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar's *force. He assures himself of the affections of his Troops.*

ON the other side *Cæsar* was at *Alba* with the two Legions that had deserted *Antonius*, one of new raised Souldiers, and two of such old ones as had served under his Father, from this place he sent Deputies to the Senate, who were now no longer Masters of their own proceedings, for either fear or particular hatred carried them away, and those very Men who could prostrate themselves before *Antonius*, were for applauding *Cæsar* from the very moment that he appeared powerfull enough to make them afraid of him. They would have been very glad if the deserting Legions had come and offered them their service; but as there was no Remedy for the present Disease, they approved so heartily of their proceeding as well as *Cæsar*'s, that it became now another Question at *Rome*, *If* Antonius *had ever had a Friend there?* In the mean while being of Opinion

Opinion that it would not become their Wiſedom and Gravity to doe any thing contrary to Form, they ſent word to *Cæſar*, that they would adjourn all affairs till the new Election of Conſuls; but his Souldiers, who were not altogether ſo formal, were for obliging him to take upon him the Quality of Conſul or Emperour, ſaying, *That they had been uſed to ſerve under no Generals but who had been ſo qualified.* And they had already prepared for him the Rods and Axes, which were wont to be born before thoſe Magiſtrates. The name of Emperour was not then in ſuch force as it is now, for it ſignified no more than the General of an Army, it is true, that it was given to any man, but after ſome famous Victory or great Conqueſt, and then their Souldiers gave it with great Acclamations, it being then a mark of Honour, which has ſince grown into a Title. *Caſar* refuſed it, and ſeeing they would preſs it upon him, thought himſelf obliged to acquaint his Officers with his Reaſons. *My Friends*, ſaid he, *It is not the love which the Senate bears us that obliges them to declare in our behalf, but the fear that they have of the power of* Antonius, *for they would make uſe of us to deſtroy him and the murtherers of my Father, who are all their Relations and Friends, have imagined that this is the way to ſave themſelves, pretending to fortify themſelves in weakning of us: but this is no time to let them underſtand that we have penetrated ſo far into their Policy, which we ſhould certainly doe, ſhould I accept of thoſe Honours*

which

which you offer me, and which they would look upon as an incroachment upon their Authority. We ought therefore to manage our ſelves with more ſubtilty, and perſuade them of our reſpect by our Obedience, for by that way of proceeding we ſhall more ſurely obtain the thing we wiſh for, and they will voluntarily beſtow a Dignity upon me, which they well know you are able to give me in ſpight of them.

CHAP. XVII.

Antonius *beſieges* Decimus Brutus *in* Modena.

AFTER this diſcourſe *Caſar* went to exerciſe his Troops, where the *Martial* and fourth Legion skirmiſhed before him, he took opportunely that occaſion to ingage them by freſh bounty, ſo he again gave 500 Drachma's to each Souldier, and promiſed as much more if they carried the Victory. Theſe Intrigues had given *Decimus* time to fortify himſelf in his Government, and when *Antonius* ſent him the Ordinance of the People, by which he was inveſted in that Employment, *Decimus*'s anſwer was, *That he had been eſtabliſhed there by a Decree of the Senate*; In anſwer to this, *Antonius* onely gave him a ſhort time for his departure, but the other demanded from day to day that it might be prolonged, which

which *Antonius* refused him, and he could have easily defeated him, but was unwilling so soon to use force, and therefore contented himself with seizing of the best places of the Province. *Decimus*, who apprehended a general Revolt, pretended that he had received Orders from the Senate to come to *Rome*, so he marched to *Modena*, which he took possession of with his Troops: this was then a great and rich City, and *Decimus* made choice of it to oppose *Antonius* without fear of being forc't thence. He had one good Troop of Gladiatours, and three Legions, two of old Souldiers, whom he had heretofore Commanded under *Julius Cæsar*, and one of new raised Men, *Antonius* immediately besieged him in the place, blocking him closely up with lines and other Works.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Hirtius *and* Panſa *choſen Conſuls. The Decree of the Senate againſt* Antonius. *The death of* Trebonius. Dollabella *declared an Enemy to the Republick. Honours and Offices allotted to* Caſſius *and* Brutus.

THE ſiege of *Modena* was lookt upon by *Cæſar*, and the Senate as a Declaration of War, where at laſt new Conſuls were Created upon the firſt of *January*, in the year 711, ſince the foundation of *Rome*, which ſhall ſerve as a Date for the reſt of the Hiſtory. Theſe Conſuls were *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, both intimate Friends and Diſciples of *Cicero*, who boaſts that he taught them the Rules of Eloquence, they were both alſo the Creatures of *Julius Cæſar*. *Hirtius* had always ſerved under him, and it is he who has given the Relation of the Wars of *Ægypt* and *Africa*, which is annexed to his Commentaries, and *Panſa* made profeſſion of a particular Friendſhip with him. They aſſembled the Senate, where *Cicero*, who had then all the Authority, perſuaded War againſt *Antonius*, by a diſcourſe which is ſtill extant. We may there reade his Reaſons, which are drawn from the Inſolence and Conduct of *Antonius*, as well as Ambition; the matter, as it uſually happens, did not paſs without a reply, for *Piſo* maintained the intereſt of *Antonius*, and indeavou-

deavoured to justify him, but *Cicero*'s underhand management proved too strong, and an Arrest had gone out against *Antonius*, if *Salvius* one of the Tribunes, had not opposed it in the name of the People. This was the greatest Privilege of those kind of Offices, for though there were many of them, one alone had right to oppose the general consent, and that opposition hindred the effect of all debates. It was the Peoples business to decide this difference, and though nothing was then ordered as to the business of *Antonius*, because of the Tribunes opposition: It was resolved that *Decimus* should be thanked for maintaining the Authority of the Senate, that *Cæsar* should be joined with the Consuls, and Command equally with them, that his Statue should be set up in Gold, that he should be entred in the Senate, and have power to demand the Consulship ten years, before he came to such Age as the Law in that case required, to the end that the Legions might be rewarded after Victory, according as he had promised them. The courage of *Salvius* made way for the Mother and Wife of *Antonius* to solicite his Cause with her Son, who was yet young, and all their other Friends and Relations. *Antonius* his Mother was called *Julia*, of *Cæsar*'s Family, and in great Esteem both for her Birth and for her Vertue; his Wife *Fulvia*, when she Married him, was the Widow of *Claudius*. This Widow was very beautifull, and of a popular, but Ancient

cient Family, Ambitious above the capacity of her Sex, and who abſolutely governed her Husband, ſhe had alſo ſome light inclinations to Gallantry, which was perhaps the effect of her Ambition, for ſhe always loved to deal amongſt the beſt Quality, at leaſt we may reade at this time an Epigramm of *Auguſtus*, where he complains that *Fulvia* declares War againſt him, becauſe he could not have a paſſion for her, and aſſiſt her in revenging the infidelities of her Husband. Theſe Ladies and all their Family appeared in mourning Robes before the People, and moved their Compaſſion. *Piſo* took this occaſion to try once more what could be done in favour of *Antonius*, but the Eloquence of *Cicero* dazled their minds, and the Decree of the Senate was confirmed, the charge of drawing it up was given to *Cicero*, which he performed in much ſeverer terms than had been reſolved upon; the terms of the Arreſt were, *That* Antonius *ſhould immediately raiſe his ſiege from before* Modena, *and that he ſhould quit the whole Province of* Gall, *which reaches from the* Alps *as far as the* Rubicon, *with a citation before the Senate in caſe of Diſobedience to give an account of his Actions.* About this time news was come to *Rome* of the death of *Trebonius*, whoſe Body was brought thither by his Friends, and who was the firſt of *Cæſar*'s Murtherers that was puniſhed for his Crime. To underſtand the manner of it, we muſt recollect that *Dolabella* departing with great diligence for his Government of

Syria found that Countrey in commotion by the intrigues of *Trebonius*, whom *Brutus* had sent thither as his Lieutenant, and when he would have entred into *Pergama* and *Smyrna*, the Gates were shut against him. Nevertheless, *Trebonius* neglected not to send Provisions to him as to a Consul, and sent word to those of *Ephesus*, that they should receive him. *Dolabella*, who had raised Troops by virtue of his Office, and was still highly respected, took his way towards *Ephesus*, *Trebonius* sending out some Companies after him to observe his march, the Consul went so directly towards *Ephesus*, that it took off all manner of suspicion, so that a great many of the Men returned again to *Smyrna*, leaving onely a small number merely for form sake. Then *Dolabella* turning upon those who remained, cut them all in pieces, and coming back briskly to *Smyrna*, took it by assault. The Souldiers found *Trebonius* a-Bed, who desired them, *To carry him to* Dolabella; *We will carry you*, said the Commander, *but your Head must stay here*, so he cut it off immediately, and the body was dragged up and down by the Souldiers with all manner of Indignity, for though he had not himself assaulted *Julius Cæsar*, he was one of the Conspiratours, and was the Man that while the Deed was doing, amused *Antonius* at the door of the Senate House, so they shewed their hatred to him by a thousand Affronts which they did him. *Dolabella* caused the Head to be fixt upon the Tribu-

nal,

nal, where he gave Audience, and whence the Souldiers took it away again, trundling of it up and down a long time upon the pavement. The Body was taken up by his Friends, and carried, as I said before, to *Rome*, where the Senate, according to that folly which they now shewed in every thing they undertook, declared *Dolabella* a Rebel, and an Enemy of his Countrey. With the same madness they made an Order, *That* Brutus *should have the Government of* Macedonia *and* Illyria, *and Command the Armies of those Provinces, till such time as the Commonwealth recovered its ancient Majesty. That he might make use of the Fleet which* Apuleius *had got together, and the sum of seven thousand Talents, which* Julius Cæsar *had sent into the City of* Demetriades; *with abundance of Ammunitions of War for the attacking of the Parthians.* To *Cassius* was given *Syria*, and the charge of making War against *Dolabella*, and an Ordinance passed, *That all such as had Command of any Provinces or Armies belonging to the Roman People, should receive Orders from these two Generals.*

CHAP. XIX.

Antonius's *Letter to* Hirtius *and young* Cæsar.

ANTONIUS resolved to take this occasion to shake the minds of *Hirtius* and young *Cæsar*, who could not be very well pleased with these demonstrations of good will towards the Murtherers of his Father; therefore though the Letter be something long, in regard it will be for our Instruction in the affairs of that Age, and that in the consequence it had its design'd effect, it will not be improper here to recite the Original, which was in these terms.

Antonius *to* Hirtius *and* Cæsar.

I *Have not been more pleased at the news of* Trebonius's *death, than grieved to understand how it has been received at* Rome. *We ought to rejoyce to see a Villain justly sacrificed to the ashes of the most Illustrious of Men, and that e'er a year came to an end, the justice of the Gods having declared it self by the punishment of one of the Paricides, seems to threaten the rest. But on the other side it is matter of affliction to see* Dolabella *declared a Rebel for having punished an Assassinate, and that the Son of one of her meanest Men should be more dear to* Rome *than the Father of his Countrey, and which is yet more terrible is, that you* Hirtius, *who have been honoured with benefits from* Cæsar, *he having left you*

you in a ſtate of Fortune which you your ſelf wonder at; and that you, young Man, who owe all you enjoy to his name, could ever agree with thoſe who thought it Juſtice to Condemn Dolabella, *and that one who is a Priſoner ought to eſcape from thoſe who now beſiege him, and that an abſolute power ſhould be given to* Caſſius *and* Brutus. *Doubtleſs you look upon theſe things with the ſame Spirit that you ſaw what paſſed before, you have given the name of Senate to the reſt of* Pompey's *Camp, and have put* Cicero *at the head of you, though he be reduced to nothing. You have fortified* Macedonia *with a powerfull Army, and given* Africa *to* Varus, *who has been twice a Priſoner.* Caſſius *hath been ſent into* Syria, *and you have ſuffered that* Caſca *ſhould take upon him the Dignity of Tribune. That the Revenues which* Cæſar *gave the* Luperci, *ſhould be taken from them, and that the Veterans ſhould be drawn out of their Colonies, where the Law, and the Order of the Senate has eſtabliſhed them. A promiſe has paſſed, and by your conſent too, that the People of* Marſeilles *ſhould be reſtored to thoſe Privileges which the Laws of War had taken from them. The intent of the Hirtian Law is utterly forgotten, which prohibits* Pompey's *Party from pretending to any Honours.* Brutus *is ſuborned by the Money of* Apuleius, *and the puniſhment inflicted on* Pœtus *and* Menedemus, *who had been honoured with City Freedoms, and were* Cæſar's *Hoſts, has been approved of, yet* Theopompus *is neglected, who was driven out naked by* Trebonius, *and forced to fly to* Alexandria, *while you have entertained* Sergius Galba *in your Camp,*

armed with the same Dagger, wherewith he committed a most execrable Paracide. In short, you force my Souldiers and the Veterans to the destruction of their Generals and their Comerades, after having drawn them together under a pretence of pursuing the murtherers of Cæsar. By this means you have approved of nothing, you have done nothing, but what Pompey himself, were he alive again, would doe, or his Son, if he had any power in Rome. It is reported that no Peace can be concluded, if I let not Brutus go, or if I furnish him not with Provisions, but is this the Opinion of those old Souldiers, whose minds and judgments have not been debauched, corrupted with Flatteries, and poisoned with Bribes like yours? You will say that you marched to the relief of their Companions whom I hold besieged. I shall give them pardon and liberty with all my heart, provided that they leave him to Justice who so well deserves it. As to the rest, you sent me word that a Peace has been mentioned in the Senate, and that five Consulary Deputies have been sent to me upon that design. But it is hard to expect any Justice and Moderation from those Men who so fiercely rejected the fair Conditions which I offered, and even some whereof I was willing to have abated. Nor is it reasonable to believe that those Men who have Condemned Dolabella for doing well, will ever pardon me for being of the same Opinion with him. I therefore leave it to your Wisedom to examine whether it will be more Honour and advantage to our Party to revenge the death of Trebonius, or the death of Cæsar: And whether it will be more just that we go together by the Ears to

set

set Pompey's *interest on foot again, which has been so often defeated, or to rally our selves, to prevent our ill treatment from those Enemies who onely wait their advantage when some misfortune shall arrive to any one of us. Our good Chance hitherto has provided otherwise, that two Parties of the same interest should not cruelly tear each other to pieces by* Cicero's *Orders, who thinks himself very happy in deceiving you by those false demonstrations of Honour wherewith he boasts that he has imposed upon* Cæsar. *For my part I will never suffer any outrage either against my self or my Friends, this is my resolution. I will never abandon the Party that* Pompey *hates, nor shall the Veterans ever by my consent be rooted out of their possessions, and then betrayed one after another to their execution. Nor will I ever break the word which I have given to* Dolabella, *nor the Alliance which I have made with so honourable a man as* Lepidus, *as well as what I owe to* Plancus, *to whom communicate all my designs, if (as I hope they will) the immortal Gods prove favourable to my just intentions, I shall live with joy: But if they have appointed me another Destiny, I shall but taste before hand the pleasure of your punishments, for if* Pompey's *Party be thus insolent under their defeat, I shall leave you to make the sad experiment of what they will come too, when they are Victorious. As for you, I could willingly bear with the injuries of my Friends, if they themselves would but forget them, and agree with me to revenge the murther of* Cæsar. *It will never prevail upon my belief that Deputies should come with Peace from the same place whence*

War is thundring, if they do come, I am ready to hear what they have to propose.

CHAP. XX.

The Consuls raise Troops for the relief of Decimus, *which was but one Legion. The manner of laying sieges in those times.* Ventidius *raises Troops for* Antonius.

IF this Letter had not much effect upon *Hirtius*, it caused great reflexions in the mind of young *Cæsar*. For what the Senate had hitherto done, might reasonably be excused, the Ambition of *Antonius*, and the safety of the Conspiratours were some sort of pretence for them, but when he found that they promoted their Commanders to the highest Power, and that they prosecuted all such as were for revenging the death of his Father, he saw clearly what their designs were, and what measures he was to take, he well knew that the Consulary Dignity carried with it all Authority of Command; he saw no Propositions of Rewards, but to the deserting Legions. Nevertheless, as he thought himself engaged in Honour to the War, and being willing to establish his Reputation by some Illustrious Action, he resolved to dissemble all with a Prudence much surpassing his Age, so that in all this affair he made not so much as one step against his true

true Intereſt. Now it was the cuſtome with Sacrifices to thank the Gods for any Honours received, *Cæſar* had publickly diſcharged that Duty, and in a ſhort diſcourſe gave his Souldiers to underſtand, *That he thought himſelf obliged onely to them for his Dignity, ſince the Senate would never have allowed it him but for their ſakes, and that therefore he would magnificently reward them.* So the Conſuls divided their Charges, *Panſa* went into *Italy* to raiſe new Troops, and *Hirtius* came to *Cæſar* to Command the Army with him. He demanded of him by a private Order from the Senate thoſe two Legions which had quitted *Antonius*, and which *Cæſar*, without any more adoe, gave him, ſo their next buſineſs was to put their Troops into Quarters. A Legion at that time was much the ſame thing as a Regiment is now, but ſomething ſtronger, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe, which always attended them, a certain number of Archers which were called Launcers, each Legion having its particular Engines and Ammunition. The Conſtitution too, which was called a Cohort, conſiſted of about four or five hundred Men. Now the manner of ſieges in thoſe times was alſo very different from what is at this day in Practice, they had no Artillery, nor any other Engines of fire, they always attacked a Town by Scalings, Sappings, or battering Rams; their Scalings were of two ſorts, either with the help of Ladders, or elſe when the

the Wall was not very high, the Souldiers covered with their Bucklers, made their approaches, those who were neareſt ſtood upright with their Bucklers upon their heads, thoſe who followed ſtooping a little, till the rere Rank, who were either upon their Knees, or lay flat with their Bellies on the ground, ſo the others mounted upon them, and this was that which they called the Tortoiſe. The Sapping is ſtill in uſe; and for the Ram, it was a great Beam armed with a Head of Iron hanging by Cords upon four Joyſts ſet upright, and faſtened together at the top. This Engine was ſet in motion, and forc't violently againſt the Wall, which ſometimes took effect accordingly, but when the Wall was very thick, and the Garriſon ſtrong, the laſt recourſe which the Beſiegers uſually had was to Famine. And this was that which now preſſed the Troops of *Decimus*, he gave notice of it by Letters to *Hirtius* and *Cæſar*, who left their Quarters to go to his Relief, and came and encamped themſelves near *Antonius*'s Lines. He was much ſtronger than they, but as it was a difficult Countrey, full of Ditches, and he having a River to paſs over, durſt not attack them. *Cicero* at this time governed in *Rome* with an abſolute Authority, and there it was that he made uſe of his great Talent of Wit which he employed chiefly in raiſing Money at the expence of *Antonius*'s Friends, who were called to account with the extremeſt Rigour. *Ventidius*, who was a Soul-

Souldier of Fortune, and a particular Friend to *Antonius*, upon this Perſecution quitted the City, and being well known for his Valour, and beloved by the Souldiers, he raiſed two Legions in *Italy*, where all *Julius Cæſar*'s Souldiers were diſperſed in a great number, and with theſe he reſolved to relieve *Antonius*. But to doe him firſt one ſignal ſervice, he cauſed ſeveral Troops privately to enter into *Rome*, where he deſign'd to have ſeiz'd upon *Cicero*; this Enterpriſe occaſioned great fear through all the City, ſeveral fled with their whole Families, and amongſt the reſt, *Cicero* himſelf, ſufficiently affrighted, ſo that by this means *Ventidius* failed of his deſign, and that Man who afterwards ſo gallantly ſignalized himſelf by defeating the Parthians, marched with his Army towards *Modena*, but *Hirtius* and *Cæſar* cut off his paſſage, and forced him to retreat towards the Marſh of *Ancona*, where he raiſed another Legion to thoſe he had already, which afterwards proved a great ſuccour to *Antonius*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

A Battel between Antonius's *Troops and* Cæsar's, *joined with the Consuls.* Pansa *mortally wounded.* Cæsar's *Troops are beaten.* Hirtius *comes to their relief, and defeats* Antonius.

IN this manner both Parties daily fortified themselves, and *Pansa*, who had raised four Legions of new Souldiers, sent word to *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* to take care for the safety of his passage, he could not come to them but by narrow passes through the Woods, which they sent the Martial Legion and their two Companies of Guards to take possession of; there was a certain Causway which went a-cross a Marsh, at the coming out of the Woods, and at the end of the Causway a large Burrough Town, called *Forum Gallorum*, at present *Castell Franco*, between *Modena* and *Bulloigne*. Into this Town *Antonius* put his two best Legions, which were the second and the thirty third, and his Company of Guards, together with that of *Sillanus*: before him he placed his Cavalry and his Archers to intice on the Enemy, and cover his Legions, for he would not have had them known that he had brought them thither; *Galba* Commanded the Consuls Van-Guard with *Carsuleius*, the Colonel of the Martial Legion. Their Souldiers were incouraged at the sight of the Cavalry,

Cavalry, and paſt the Cauſway briskly with the two Companies; *Panſa* came galloping to the head of the Troops, after having ordered the two new Legions ſoftly to follow him, he formed his order of Battel with twelve Cohorts of the Martial Legion, and the Companies of Guards taking the left Wing, where the Guards were with two Cohorts of the Legion, and leaving the right with the other eight to *Galba*. At the ſame time *Antonius* drew his Legions out of the Town, and charged the Enemy e'er the new Legions could come up, the place was blocked up, and the Souldiers very much provoked. *Antonius*'s Legions were for revenging themſelves upon the Martial, who had deſerted them; and on the other ſide the Martials were as firmly reſolved to maintain their Honour, ſo that by this means the Battel became a particular Quarrel between the Souldiers, who immediately fell on with all fierceneſs, they could not open their Ranks, but fought at Swords Point, every blow they gave each other, gave a wound too, no cries of pain were heard, but ſhouts of Fury, and in the very moment that one man was knocked down or ſlain, the body was carried off, and another advanced into his place, theſe being all old Souldiers, who had no need of Commanders to make them underſtand their Duty. At laſt the Conſuls right Wing, where *Galba* Commanded, gave ground to the thirty third Legion for above a hundred paces. But as *Galba* ſaw

that

that *Antonius*'s Mooriſh Cavalry gained upon his Flanck, he drew up his Archers againſt him, and drew off his Companies. In the mean time *Panſa*, who on his ſide had engaged himſelf a little too far, was hemmed in, and received a wound with a half Pike in the Belly, which forc't him to be carried off. His being wounded ſo aſtoniſhed the Souldiers, that they poſſeſſed themſelves of the Cauſway in great diſorder, when the new Troops, inſtead of ſeconding of them began immediately to fly, and were followed by all the reſt of the Army, except *Cæſar*'s company of Guards, who made head upon the Cauſway with *Galba*, and were cut to pieces. *Galba* ſaved himſelf on Horſeback, and had like to have been ſlain by his own very Party, who were rallied hard by a Fort which *Torquatus* the Queſtor had cauſed in haſte to be thrown up. The Office of Queſtor was in the nature of a Treaſurer General, but he had alſo Command over the Troops. The Martial Legion mad with ſpight and ſhame, made head in this place, refuſing to enter the Fort, *Antonius* admiring their Virtue, durſt not charge them under that Fortification, but having made a great ſlaughter amongſt the new Souldiers, who fled in diſorder, retreated. *Cæſar* was at this Battel, where he mingled himſelf even in the midſt, but the ſhoal of thoſe who ran away, carried him with them, notwithſtanding he endeavoured all he could to the contrary. Nevertheleſs, *Antonius* has

Reproa-

Reproached him ſince that he loſt his Coat of Arms and his Horſe there, and did not appear in two days afterwards. *Hirtius*, who was near *Modena*, marched upon the firſt news of the Battel with twenty Cohorts, and with ſo great diligence, that though he had near ſixty ſtades to Travell, he came up with *Antonius*'s Troops, who were retreating diſorderly after their Victory, he charged them furiouſly, but thoſe brave men, though ſo ſurprized, made yet a vigorous reſiſtence, but at laſt were forc't to give way, *Hirtius* purſuing them Pell-mell even into the Marſh, where he durſt not engage himſelf, and the night too coming on, forc't him to a retreat. The Marſh was covered with the dead and wounded, and *Antonius*'s Souldiers, notwithſtanding the fatigue of the Battel, remained ſtill all the night a Horſeback to fetch off their wounded Companions, whom they carried ſome behind them, and drew off others at their Horſes Tails, ſo that by this means a great many were preſerved. The loſs was equal on both ſides in the firſt Battel, but in the ſecond *Hirtius* had very few Men ſlain, having taken two Eagles and ſeveral other Colours, but *Cæſar*'s company of Guards being intirely deſtroyed, were bewailed extremely.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Antonius *defeated by* Hirtius *and* Cæsar. *The death of* Hirtius. *The raising of the siege of* Modena. Brutus *writes to* Cicero.

AFTER the Battel both Armies returned to their Camps about *Modena*, where *Antonius* resolved onely to defend his Lines without hazarding a second Battel: On the other side *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* were for Engaging, and there daily happened very severe skirmishes. At last the Consul began to move towards that side of the Mountain, where *Antonius*'s Camp was least fortified, to try if he could put any relief into the Town, *Antonius* immediately opposed them with his Cavalry, who were beaten from their ground, so that he was forced to cause two Legions to advance. The Enemy rejoycing at these proceedings, charged those Troops, when the two Legions giving ground, *Antonius* sent away for another, but the circumvallation reached so far, and their Succours were so long a time coming, that the two Legions were totally put to the Rout. *Hirtius* followed his advantage very vigorously, entring the Lines, and was already got into the Quarters of *Antonius*, but was there slain. *Cæsar* got great Honour upon this occasion, he carried off the Consul's Body, and taking the Eagle out of the Standard-bearers Hands, who was very much

wound-

wounded, carried it himſelf, till the very minute that *Antonius*'s Troops were abſolutely defeated; the night hindred his total overthrow, and the two Generals continued a Horſeback till morning with all their Troops. Then *Antonius* called a Council of his Friends, who adviſed him to continue the ſiege, by reaſon that the two Conſuls were the one wounded, and the other dead, and that *Decimus* was reduced to the laſt extremity. But he fearing leſt *Cæſar*, who had a great many Pioneers, ſhould carry on his Works between him and the City, and by that means get ſuccours into the place, was afraid alſo leſt thoſe two defeats might looſe him *Lepidus* and *Plancus*; ſo he raiſed the ſiege, and retreated up to the Mountains to go and join himſelf with *Ventidius*. It was doubtleſs in the heat of joy for this Victory, that *Cicero* wrote to young *Cæſar*, deſiring him in his Letter, *That he would be contented to ſpare the Republick* Brutus *and* Caſſius. The Letter was ſent by *Atticus* to *Brutus*, who was very much provoked at it, and complained very ſharply of *Cicero*, who had alſo reproached *Caſca* with the murther of *Cæſar*. *Brutus* offended at the proceeding, ſent word to *Atticus*, *That that reproach might be returned upon* Cicero *himſelf, who had ſlain more than one Citizen in his Conſulſhip, and was therefore a greater murtherer than ever* Caſca *was. Is it,* added he, *becauſe we do not quote the Ides of* March *upon all occaſions in and out of Seaſon, as he does his Nones of* December,

that esteems us less than him? He boasts that he has maintained the War against Antonius, *without ever having drawn his Sword. What is that to me if for the reward of defeating* Antonius, *it demanded that one succeed him? This is not any longer,* said he, *to be afraid of Slavery, but of the Master that imposes it.* And in another place, *Is it out of fear of* Octavius's *power that* Cicero *believes we ought to allow him these Honours? That fear,* says he, *is foolish, which obliges us to provide against an evil by means that are as bad as the evil we are afraid of, and which perhaps too might have been avoided. We are too much afraid of Death, Banishment and Poverty. These things appear to* Cicero *as great evils, and provided there be but those that will allow him what he desires, respect him, and praise him, he reckons an honourable Slavery as nothing, if such a thing as Honour can subsist with so great Infamy.* In short, not to repeat the whole Letter, he said, *That he had no great Opinion of those fine Arts which* Cicero *was so much a Master of: For what use do we see him make of all that he has written concerning the Liberty of his Country, true Honour, Death, Banishment and Poverty. Brutus* wrote also to *Cicero* himself in terms not quite so sharp, but full as pressing, but the Letter is too long to mingle with the body of a History, where it will not appear much to the purpose, besides it is to be seen amongst many others in *Cicero*'s Epistles.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Decimus *speaks to* Cæsar, *who treats him ill. The death of* Pansa. *His dying words to* Cæsar.

DECIMUS was at *Macedonia*, and in great disputes with himself in what manner he ought to proceed with *Cæsar*; but as he knew how irreconcilable a hatred he had reason to expect from him, he thought it his best way to break down all the Bridges that were upon the River, and after that precaution he sent a Herald to *Cæsar*, who in the name of *Decimus*, *Gave him thanks for the liberty which he owed to his relief, and taking all the Romans to Witness, protested that it was onely by mere hazard that* Decimus *had been ingaged in the unhappy Conspiracy.* At last he begged of him, *That he would allow of a free interview, the River being between them.* *Cæsar* received this discourse very surlily, and made answer, *That* Decimus *owed him no obligation, that he came not thither by any means for his relief, but to fight with* Antonius, *who nevertheless might one day come to be his Friend, but that* Decimus *should ever be his mortal Enemy, and that he would neither speak with him, nor see him. Therefore,* says he, *let him go wherever he has a mind to go, since those who are at* Rome *will have it so.* *Decimus*, who was near the River understood this answer, *And besought* Cæsar *that he would onely see the Letters of the Senate, which*

confirmed him in the Government of Gall, *and forbad him admittance into the Province.* *Cæſar*, though offended with his inſolence, did not think it ſeaſonable at this time to reſent it, though he might eaſily have done it, ſo he returned to *Bulloigne* to ſee *Panſa*, who lay there wounded; they wrote both to the Senate, and at the inſtance of *Cicero* there were ordered 50 days of publick Devotions and Thanksgivings, which had never been done for any other Victory before. The promiſe alſo of 500 Drachma's to the Legions was confirmed with a farther Proviſion, that it ſhould be paid to the Widows or Heirs of thoſe who died in Battel. *Panſa* died of his wounds ſome few days afterwards, whoſe death occaſioned ſome ſuſpicion of *Cæſar*, at leaſt the Phyſician he made uſe of, one whoſe name was *Glyco*, was put into Priſon, and accuſed for having poyſoned the wound; but *Brutus* anſwered for the Honeſty of the Phyſician, and wrote in his behalf to *Cicero*, yet ſtill *Cæſar*'s Enemies ſpread the ſuſpicions abroad, as alſo that he had ſlain *Hirtius* in the heat of the Battel. But *Panſa* himſelf was ſo well perſuaded to the contrary, that he deſired to ſee him before his death, and thus ſpoke to him, *I loved your Father more than my ſelf, and when he was ſlain in the Senate, I would have hazarded my own life to have ſaved his, had I been furniſhed with Arms. I would doe his Memory Juſtice in doing you ſome Service, which my misfortune hinders me from on this occaſion, which ſhould be by advertiſing you of what*

what deſigns the Senate have againſt you, for it is nothing but the fear of your Troops which forces thoſe People to careſs you, and they had never allowed you thoſe Honours you are at preſent poſſeſſed of, but to fire you more to the deſtruction of Antonius. *Their buſineſs is to daſh you to pieces one againſt the other, by that means to re-eſtabliſh* Pompey's *Party, it being the thing which they moſt preſſingly recommended to* Hirtius *and me, but the Friendſhip wherewith* Cæſar *once honoured me, obliges me to give you ſuch Counſel as I my ſelf would take upon the ſame occaſion, unite your ſelf with* Antonius, *for it is the onely way to preſerve your life and advance your Fortune. I could not with Honour have given you this advice ſooner, becauſe it would have betrayed the Truſt which they repoſed in me, but at preſent, ſince* Antonius *is overthrown,* Hirtius *dead, and I juſt following him, I think my ſelf diſcharged of my Oath, and therefore may acquit my ſelf of what I owe to the memory of* Cæſar. *I ſurrender you your Troops, and would alſo reſtore you thoſe which the Senate gave me, did I not fear it might cauſe their averſion towards you, for the Commanders are but ſo many private Spies upon our Conduct, ſo I would have you conſent that they may be put into the hands of* Torquatus. He died about a quarter of an hour afterwards, having given his Troops to *Torquatus*, who by orders from the Senate, carried them to *Decimus*, and *Cæſar* ſent the Bodies of the two Conſuls to *Rome* with great Magnificence.

CHAP. XXIV.

Cassius *in* Syria. *He raises great Forces. The Conduct of* Cleopatra. Brutus *defeats* Antonius's *Brother, and takes him Prisoner.*

IN this manner the Senate endeavoured by all sort of ways to re-establish their Authority, and the news which came from the East gave them very great hopes of it. *Cassius* arriving in *Syria*, found the Legions in that Province revolted, by reason of the death of * *Sextus*, who was a young Man, and a Kinsman of *Julius Cæsar*, who had left him there upon Honour to Command a Legion, whereof *Cæcilius Bassus* was Tribune or Colonel. This young Man lived very disorderly, and when *Bassus* advised him to reform his Conduct, he used him ill, so that the Souldiers provoked to see their Colonel affronted fell to Mutiny, and in the Tumult *Sextus* was slain. They well knew that *Cæsar*, who was then alive, would not forgive them that fault, so they desperately resolved to stand by what they had done, and debauched also another Legion into their Crime, *Cæsar* sent orders to *Marcus* to reduce them to their Obedience with three Legions which he Commanded, but the Mutineers got the better of him so far, that he was forced to demand the assistence of *Crispus*, who had three other Legions in *Bithynia*, they had besieged *Bassus*, who defended

* Julius.

ded himſelf very well, when after the death of *Caſar*, *Caſſius* with the Senates orders arrived in the Province. The Mutineers were tranſported with this occaſion, ſo they declared immediately for the Senate, and *Caſſius* managed it ſo well, that he brought over *Marcus* and *Criſpus* alſo into his Intereſt, by that means re-uniting all thoſe Troops under his own Command. He had alſo notice that *Alienus* was in *Paleſtine* with four Legions that *Cleopatra* had raiſed, and which ſhe had put into *Alienus*'s hands by the Command of *Dolabella*. *Cleopatra* reigned then in *Ægypt* by the Authority of *Caſar*, who loved her, and had placed her upon the Throne after the death of her Brother, and it was in acknowledgment of thoſe favours, that ſhe had raiſed theſe Troops to offer him their ſervice, when he ſhould march againſt the Parthians. The death of this great Man had altered thoſe thoughts to others of Revenge, ſo underſtanding that *Dolabella* was in *Syria*, and that he had declared himſelf againſt *Caſar*'s Murtherers by the death of *Trebonius*, ſhe ſent him thoſe Legions under the Command of *Alienus*. *Caſſius*, with his Army marched againſt him, which forced *Alienus*, finding he was not ſtrong enough to give him Battel with the four Legions to go over to his ſide, by which means *Caſſius* was in a ſhort time at the head of 12 Legions. He imparted this good news to all his Friends, and went afterwards to beſiege *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*, which is a

City of *Syria*. On the other side, *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, the Government whereof *Hortentius* had put into his hands, by the means of *Apuleius*'s Money had drawn to him all such of *Pompey*'s Souldiers as were in *Thessaly*, and all the Neighbouring Princes, who still had a respect for the Memory of *Pompey*, assisted him with their Troops, so that the whole World was again divided between two Men, for they were no more, since it was in effect the Credit of *Cæsar* and *Pompey* which kept up the War between those of their several Parties, *Cajus* the Brother of *Antonius* was gone with one Legion into *Macedonia*, where *Brutus*, who was much stronger than he, might easily have destroyed him, but resolving to Husband well the lives of his Fellow Citizens, and the Repute which he had already gotten for great Moderation, he contented himself to weary him out with moving from one place to another, and it was *Cicero*'s Son who Commanded the Party against him. He was as yet but a young Man, though of great expectation, and *Brutus* praised him extremely in the Letters which he wrote to *Cicero*. He got the better of *Cajus* in two or three little encounters, the ill success whereof at last was the reason that all *Cajus* his Souldiers surrendred themselves to *Brutus*, and he himself was at last forc't to follow their example. *Brutus* used him very well, without depriving him of any marks of his Dignity till the death of *Cicero*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Cæſar *demands the Honour of Triumph, which is refuſed him. He attempts the Conſulſhip by* Cicero's *interference.*

THE news of theſe proceedings was received in *Italy* with very different ſentiments, the Senate were extremely rejoiced at it, but young *Cæſar* ſeemed to have a very little ſhare in their pleaſure, the laſt advice of *Panſa* wholly employed his thoughts, and to ſound the inclinations of the Senate, he ſent to demand a Triumph, but that Honour was denied to *Cæſar*, who from the very moment reſolved to uſe his beſt indeavours to re-unite himſelf with *Antonius*. He ſent him back all the Priſoners which he had taken at the Battel of *Modena*, and amongſt the reſt *Decius*, a particular friend of *Antonius* having firſt diſcovered to him his intentions, he let *Ventidius*'s Army paſs, which he might have deſtroyed, and alſo ſaw him particularly himſelf, to complain to him of the Diviſions that ruined the intereſt of their Party. At laſt he ſent to *Lepidus*, and *Pollio*, to give them to underſtand the ſame thing, and all this with the greateſt ſecrecy in the world. In the mean time *Decimus* wrote word to the Senate that *Antonius* was ruined, that he was not able to ſtand before him, and that he would undertake in a ſhort time to chaſe him to the other ſide of the *Alps*, the joy

joy for this news was every where apparent, so without any farther consideration a Committee was appointed of ten Senatours for the drawing up of a Process against *Antonius*, and abolishing all that he had done during his Consulship. This was an oblique blow with which they intended to wound the Ordinances of *Julius Cæsar*. Those of *Pompey*'s Party solicited *Decimus* that he would demand the Consulship in the room of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*. *Cæsar* also had the same design, but discovered it at first onely to *Cicero*, to whom he sent word, *That he much desired to see himself once Consul with him, that so he might be instructed in those rules and methods which are requisite for the government of the Commonwealth. That for his part he onely desired the name of Consul, to recompence himself in some measure for the loss of his Triumph, but that he would leave the Authority intirely to* Cicero. He could not have thought of any thing better to prevail upon the weakness of that Man, all his great knowledge and experience gave way to that bait of Vain-glory, so he proposed it to the Senate with a great many circumlocutions, which nevertheless could not disguise it so well, but that his vanity was perceived, and made light of by the Senate, who laughed at him for his pains, and the Kinsmen of the Conspiratours hindred any farther proceeding towards the Election of Consuls.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Antonius *makes his retreat into* Gall. *He makes himself Master of* Lepidus's *Army. He returns into* Italy *with seventeen Legions.*

ANTONIUS began now to understand his true interest, those Friends which *Cæsar* had sent to him, had opened his Eyes, but he had a mind in the first place throughly to discover the intentions of *Lepidus*, who was advanced out of *Spain* as far as the place where the Rivers of *Rhone* and *Saone* meet; the Senate had given orders to him and *Plancus* to fortify themselves in that place, and it was at this time that *Plancus* laid the foundation of the City of *Lyons*. *Antonius* passed over the *Alps*, having first gained *Culeo*, who guarded the narrow passages, in all that march his Army suffered most extremely, and *Antonius* even out-did himself in instructing his Souldiers by his own example to indure their weariness and their wants; at last he came and incamped hard by *Lepidus*, but fortified himself not in the least, because he would make it known that he thought himself near his Friends. Nevertheless *Lepidus* sent him word that the Senate had given him orders to prosecute him as an Enemy, but *Antonius*, who had let his beard and hair grow, came and shewed himself in that condition to *Lepidus*'s Souldiers, they had all served with him under *Julius Cæsar*, esteemed him for his

his Courage, and the Civility of his Manners, ſo that the condition they now ſaw him in, moved them to compaſſion; he ſpoke to them ſeveral times between the two Camps, where they would meet him, though *Lepidus* did all that lay in his power to prevent it. *Antonius* Souldiers were dayly telling them ſtories of the goodneſs of their General, that he marched the firſt on foot into the middle of the Snow himſelf, comforting thoſe whom he ſaw were wearied, which gained the very hearts of them; at laſt, *Lepidus* perceiving that he was no longer Maſter of his Troops, that they had ſent *Claudius* and *Lælius* to *Antonius* to invite him to come into their Camp, where they would receive him for their General, and at the ſame time cut off *Lepidus*, if he would give them Orders. *Antonius* forbad them the doing of him any violence, and the next day paſſed over a ſhallow part of the River, which ſeparated them, and came into *Lepidus*'s Camp. The Souldiers received him with great Acclamations, and *Lepidus* being very much terrified, offered him his Command. *Antonius* refuſed it, but was willing to divide with him, though the Authority ſhould ſtill remain intirely his. *Plancus*, who was loath to expoſe himſelf to the like diſgrace, paſt *Iſerum* with four Legions, and retreated into *Savoy*, as if he had a deſign of joining himſelf with *Decimus*, but it was indeed to make choice of his Party according as Fortune ſhould declare her ſelf. By this means

means *Antonius* was at the head of 23 Legions, and above ten thouſand Horſe, he left ſix Legions on the other ſide of the *Alps*, under the Command of one of his drinking Companions, called *Varius*, but in railery ſirnamed *Cotyllo*, (that word ſignifying a Flagon) and returned over the Mountains with 17 Legions and all his Cavalry.

CHAP. XXVII.

Cæſar *purſues the Conſulſhip. He ſpeaks to his Souldiers. He marches towards* Rome. *The fright the Senate were in.*

NOW to make the beſt uſe of that amazement which this ſucceſs of *Antonius* had brought into *Rome*, *Cæſar* reſolved once more to ſet his deſign on foot of purſuing the Conſulſhip. The Senate had changed their method, they had declared *Cæſar* General with *Decimus*, to make War againſt *Antonius*, but at the ſame time had offended him by a fooliſh way of proceeding, in ſending ten Commiſſaries to carry the Money, which had been promiſed to the two Legions, without naming himſelf for that employment. Theſe Commiſſaries had private orders to endeavour to corrupt the Souldiers of the two Legions, and to perſuade them to go and join *Decimus*, where it was told them their Money ſhould be ready;

dy; but *Cæsar* took care they should be so well lookt after, that they could get no opportunity of speaking to the Souldiers; and when he let them understand how well he was informed of their design, they were so afraid, that they returned to *Rome* without ever so much as distributing the money. *Cæsar* took this occasion to convince his Souldiers, *That what the Senate aimed at, was onely the destruction of his Father's Party by the divisions they indeavoured to sow amongst them*; so he unravelled all the secret of that Policy which had caused so many waverings between him and *Antonius*. He made them take notice how they indeavoured to raise jealousie amongst his Troops, by that distinction of Recompences, and after all, the last attempt which they had made towards the weakning of *Cæsar*'s Ordinances. *What security*, said he, *can ye pretend to have now for those Houses, those Inheritances, and those Goods which my Father allotted you? Do ye not believe also that my life must be in danger amongst the Relations and Friends of those who cruelly murthered him? But it is not the care of that which most nearly touches me, I would give it up with chearfulness, if that Sacrifice would secure the safety of so many Men of consideration as have followed my interests; ye know that I am not Ambitious, and ye have seen me too refuse those marks of Honour which ye have offered me, but I desire some of you at present, in consideration of your selves, the onely way to preserve your Lives and Fortunes, must be the making of me Consul*

by

by your Votes, after that, we will make it our buſineſs to ſecure you in the poſſeſſion of thoſe Goods which my Father left you. We will revenge his death, and ſhall be in a better condition for the diſtribution of Rewards. The Souldiers received this Propoſition with a great deal of Joy, and immediately named Deputies to go and make their demand to the Senate, who returned no favourable anſwer, excuſing themſelves in regard of *Cæſar*'s Youth. But the Deputies being well inſtructed, alledged Corvinus, *the two* Scipio's, Pompey *and* Dolabella, *who had all obtained that Magiſtracy before they came to Age, and that* Cæſar *himſelf had a diſpenſation from the Senate.* They ſpoke theſe things with a certain Souldier-like Liberty, which was not very agreeable to the Senatours, who interrupted them with crying out againſt it, when a certain Captain called *Cornelius*, who was the firſt of the Deputies, laying his Hand upon his Sword, ſaid, *If ye will not give it him, here's that ſhall.* After theſe words he left the Senate, and returned to give *Cæſar* an account of the ill ſucceſs of his Deputation. The Souldiers provoked by their refuſal, cryed out, *That they deſired to be lead to* Rome, *and that* Cæſar *as Heir to his Father, had ſufficient Authority to make whom he pleaſed Conſuls.* He took care this heat of theirs ſhould not grow cold again, ſo he marched towards *Rome* with eight Legions, and paſſed the *Rubicon* as his Father had done before; he divided his Army into two Bodies, the briſkeſt whereof he

he took with him, that he might surprize his Enemies by his diligence, leaving orders with the rest to come and join him by small marches, and understanding that the Senate had deputed new Commissaries with the Money, he sent out a party of Souldiers before to meet them, which so terrified them, that they immediately returned to *Rome*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Senates want of resolution. Cæsar *enters into the City. He treats* Cicero *ill, and is declared Consul with* Pedius.

NOW there was nothing but disorder to be found in the City, and as it usually happened upon the like occasions every Senatour was for laying the blame of their ill Conduct upon his Neighbour, but that was now to little purpose, for some resolution must be taken, so it was concluded, *That one half of the Money which the Senate had promised to the two Legions, should be sent them, together with a farther promise of as much more to the others. That* Cæsar *onely should have the care of the distribution of this Money, and be permitted to demand the Consulship, though he were not himself there present.* So Deputies were sent to acquaint him with these Resolutions, but the very moment after they appeared again too mean as well as too rash. Some foolish

ſooliſh remainders of that fierceneſs which was natural to thoſe ancient Romans, made them aſhamed to yield thus to the proceedings of a young Man, and the inſolence of the Souldiery. By chance too at the ſame time two Legions who came from *Libya* arrived at the Gates of the City, they were received as a Succour ſent thither from the Gods, and it was reſolved with theſe Troops, and the Legion that *Panſa* had ſent back to the Senate, joined with ſuch as were fit to bear Arms within the Walls to defend the City. So Pretors were appointed to Command them, and great hopes there ſeemed to be that theſe marks of their Courage and Reſolution might aſtoniſh *Caeſar*. His Mother and his Siſters were in the City, but when the Senate cauſed them to be ſought for, to ſecure them as Hoſtages, they were not to be found, which was an inſtance that *Caeſar* had ſtill ſome faithfull Friends there; the danger that thoſe Perſons who were ſo dear to him were in, had made him to redouble his diligence, ſo he ſent his Cavalry with all the haſte they could make to ſeize upon the Gates, and aſſure the People of his good Intentions, himſelf following cloſe at their Heels with his Legions, the ſight whereof ſoon moderated the Zeal of thoſe Men who appeared ſo hot for the defence of their Countrey, ſo without any reſiſtence they ſeized upon the *Quirinal* Mountain, where *Caeſar*'s Friends, and the moſt Illuſtrious of the Senatours came to ſalute him. The

People mingled themselves amongst the Souldiers, bringing them refreshments, and the next day *Cæsar*, attended by some of the best of his Men for the guard of his Person, made his entrance into the City, where he was every where received with the joyfull Acclamations of the People, and met by his Mother and Sisters, who had been retreated amongst the Vestals. His Mother was called *Actia*, the Daughter of *Actius Balbus*, and *Julia* the Sister of *Julius Cæsar*, and his Sisters all bore the name of *Octavia*, the youngest whereof afterwards Married *Antonius*, though she proved unfortunate in the Match, by reason of the madness wherewith *Cleopatra* had bewitched that Man, though *Octavia* had much the advantage of her both in Beauty and Wisedom, which made her esteemed for one of the most Vertuous Ladies of her time. The three Legions that were in the City, sent also to offer their service to *Cæsar*, who received them with the Pretors that Commanded them, all, except *Cornutus*, who slew himself with his own hands. *Cicero* was one of the last in paying him his Devoirs, and *Cæsar* after some sharp railery, told him, *That he was the last of his Enemies who had visited him.* It had been reported to *Cæsar* how *Cicero* should say in the Senate, *That the young man ought to be praised, honoured, and advanced.* The last word bearing in the Latine a double Interpretation, for *Tollere* signifies as well to take away ones life, so that the equivocation

seem-

seemed something remarkable. The next night several Persons spread about a report that the Martial and third Legions would take Party with the Senate, who had no more Wit but to believe it, and sent a Prætor, whose Name was *Acilius Crassus* into the March of *Ancona* to raise Forces. The Senatours Assembled themselves, and *Cicero*, offended at *Cæsar*'s railery, was one of the first who came to the place, receiving the others as they entred with a great deal of Joy. But day appearing, soon convinced them of their Errour, and *Cicero* fled out of the City. It would be hard to believe that such prudent and discerning Men as were then in the Senate should be so fickle, were we not convinced by a thousand experiences, that great Interests as well as violent Passions will disorder the most solid Judgments. *Cæsar* made himself very merry with this accident, but caused his Troops to approach as far as the Field of *Mars*, and to persuade a good Opinion of his moderation, he forgave *Crassus*, who came to seek him, and ask his Pardon. After which, he caused the publick Money, which was kept at *Janiculum*, to be brought, whereof he paid 1500 Drachma's to every Souldier, and promised satisfaction for what was behind, so they proceeded to the Election of Consuls, and *Cæsar* to leave the People in appearance the liberty of their Votes, went out of the City and was declared Consul with *Pedius*, who had granted him his part of what his

Uncle had left them, he immediately came back again so soon as he understood he was chosen, and it is said, That as he was sacrificing according to Custome, there were seen twelve Vultures, being the same number which appeared to *Romulus* the Founder of *Rome*. His first publick act was the Declaration which he made to the People of *Julius Cæsar*'s having adopted him according to the intention of the Law in that Case, so the Adoption was confirmed, and his Fathers Freed-men, many whereof were in possession of great Estates, according to Custome acknowledged him for their Patron, and afterwards did him very considerable service both in their Persons and their Fortunes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Cæsar causes Brutus *and* Cassius *to be Condemned, with all those who had murthered his Uncle.* Antonius *pursues* Decimus, *who is at last slain.*

AS all the thoughts of young *Cæsar* were intent upon revenging the death of his Father, he no sooner saw the Sovereign Authority in his hands, but he set himself seriously to work about the business, so causing the Arrest which the Senate had sent out against *Dolabella* to be cancelled, *Brutus* and *Cassius* were accused of Treason and Murther by *Cornificius* and * *Agrippa*, and the other Accomplices by others of *Cæsar*'s Friends, the Accused were all Condemned for Contumacy, and it is said, that when (as the Custome was) *Brutus* was cited to appear, many could not forbear from weeping, and a Senatour named *Sicilius*, had the boldness to declare, *That* Brutus *was innocent, and valued himself upon the matter. Cæsar* took that opportunity to make yet his moderation more remarkable in pardoning of him for the present, but found a way afterwards to be revenged of him in the Proscription of the Triumvirate. *Quintus Gallius*, the Brother of a Pretor, was afterwards accused, for that at the solicitations of *Antonius*, he had Conspired against *Cæsar*, the People plundered the House of the Pretor, who

* *This man was of no great Family, but was afterwards the chief Favourite of* Augustus, *by reason of his Valour and Merit, he married* Julia *the Daughter of* Augustus, *the Name of his Family was* Vipsallius.

was not then at *Rome*, and the Senate Condemned *Quintus* to death, *Cæſar* onely ordered him to go and find out his Brother, but he diſappeared in his Journey, and was no more heard of. In the mean time news was brought, that *Brutus*, who was in *Macedonia*, had publiſhed, *That he would come and appear to Juſtice at the head of twenty Legions.* *Cæſar*, who did not deſire he ſhould be ſo well accompanied, was reſolved to ſpare him one half of the Journey. The Senate had given him the charge of making War againſt *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, he went from *Rome* upon this expedition with great preparation and very good Troops, leaving *Pedius* his Collegue in the City, who, as of his own proper motion propoſed to the Senate, *That all ſeeds of Diviſion might be rooted out by Cancelling whatſoever had been ordered againſt* Antonius *and* Lepidus. This Propoſition was by no means very agreeable, but the Authority of thoſe who made it, rendred it neceſſary, ſo the Senate wrote to *Cæſar* for his Opinion of the matter, who as if with ſome violence upon himſelf, and being forced by his Souldiers, at laſt conſented to it. In acknowledgment of this good turn, *Antonius* ſent him word that he would go and find out *Decimus*, whoſe Perſon was very odious to all *Julius Cæſar*'s Friends, and *Plancus* and *Pollio* in conſideration of *Cæſar*, joined *Antonius*'s Army with ſix Legions, *Decimus* had ten under his Command, but the four beſt of them, who conſiſted of old Souldiers,

were

were in a very ill condition, by reaſon of the ſickneſs and other Fatigues which they had ſuffered in *Modena*, the ſix others were new Men, without any experience, ſo that he durſt not ſtay for *Antonius* with thoſe Forces, but laid a deſign of retreating into *Macedonia* by the way of *Ravenna*, and the *Adriatick* Gulph, but *Cæſar* oppoſed him there with his Troops, ſo that *Decimus* was reduced to a neceſſity of thinking how he might paſs the *Rhine*, and make his retreat good through *Germany*. The fatigues and dangers of this Voyage ſo ill reliſhed with the new Souldiers, that they deſerted him, and came over to *Antonius*'s Army, *Decimus* ſeeing himſelf by this means abandoned by all his Infantry, diſmiſt all the ſtranger Cavalry who were with him, and out of his own Purſe furniſhed them with Money for the charge of their Voyage, retaining onely with him three hundred of thoſe who were beſt diſpoſed to his intereſt, with this attendance he marched as far as the *Rhine*, when being affrighted at the rapidneſs of the ſtream, and the largeneſs of the River, each man was for ſeeking a civil pretence of drawing off, ſo there remained with *Decimus* onely ten of his Friends. In this extremity he put on a Gallick habit to diſguiſe himſelf, and as he perfectly underſtood that Language, he believed he might eaſily paſs for ſome Cavalier that had quitted the ſervice. But the misfortune that followed him, or rather the puniſhment of his Crime

brought him into the hands of certain Moroders, who without taking any Party, were for plundering all they met withall; he demanded to ſpeak with their Captain, and found by chance that it was one *Camillus*, whom he had formerly obliged, this *Camillus* received *Decimus* indeed very honourably, but according to the Cuſtome of thoſe ſort of People, gave advice to *Antonius* of what had happened; *Antonius* was touched with much Compaſſion to underſtand the ſad condition of a man ſo conſiderable for his Birth, and the great Offices he had born, but as he could doe him no favour, and was therefore reſolved not to ſee him, he ſent word to *Camillus* to ſend him his Head, which was immediately obeyed, and when it was brought to him, he cauſed it to be buried, ſo * *Decimus* was the ſecond of *Julius Caſar's* Murtherers, upon whom the death of that great Man was revenged; he had always been of his Party againſt *Pompey*, and *Caſar* had honoured him with a particular Friendſhip, as appears in his Will. He had upon many great occaſions made him Commander of his Cavalry, and at laſt had given him the Government of *Gaul*, which were things that made his Action appear by ſo much the more Infamous and Horrible. Another of the Murtherers called *Baſilius*, periſhed alſo at the ſame time by the hands of his Slaves, whom he had treated with all manner of Cruelty.

* *He was called* Decimus Junius Brutus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Preſages which were before the Triumvirate. The Alliance of Cæſar, Antonius *and* Lepidus, *called the Triumvirate. They meet in a certain Iſland. Their Ordinances.*

NOthing ſo much ſatisfies the Pride of Mankind, as the Opinion whereby they flatter themſelves with being able to foreſee what ſhall happen, ſince by that means they imagine they are in ſome degree equal to the Gods, and it was doubtleſs that preſumption which firſt introduced Auguries, Preſages and all thoſe ſorts of Divinings, and which ſo much recommended them to the Romans. All their Hiſtories are full of them, but more particularly upon this occaſion. They believed that ſomething muſt have been wanting to the importance of that great Iſſue which overthrew the eſtate of the whole Univerſe, and laid the foundation of the greateſt Empire that ever was in the World upon the Ruines of the Roman Commonwealth, if it had not been foretold by Prodigies. Dogs were heard to howl round about the City like Wolves, and Wolves were ſeen running even about the Market place, where they took away the Meat from the Shambles; an Ox ſpoke, as alſo did an Infant, as it was freſh born from the Womb of its Mother; ſome of the Statues ſweated bloud, and others water; terrible

terrible signs were seen round about the Sun. At last showres of Stones fell from Heaven, and the Temples and Images of the Gods were broken with Thunder. The Senate terrified with these Prodigies, sent into *Tuscany* for those Men called Augures, who professed the explanation of these sort of Prodigies, and out of this Countrey it was that this Superstition first came into *Rome*. The eldest Augure said, *That by these Presages the Gods foretold the restoring of Kings to* Rome, *where they should have absolute Command over all men, except*, said he, *my self*, and at these words he held his breath so obstinately, that he stifled himself in the midst of the Assembly. The success was but too answerable to his Conjectures. *Cæsar* and *Antonius* were united by the means of *Lepidus*, who obliged them to see one another for the adjusting of their pretensions; for this interview was chosen a little Island made by the River *Panarus* hard by *Modena*, hither *Cæsar* and *Antonius* came, each with four Legions, the River being between them, *Lepidus* first went over alone into the Island, to discover if there were reason to fear any surprizal, when he had satisfied himself, he held up his Robe, which was a signal for them to approach, *Cæsar* and *Antonius* advanced, each with 300 Men a-piece, whom they left at the foot of those Bridges which had been made there for that present purpose, and onely themselves entred the Island, where they imbraced, and afterwards sate down in

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an open place, where both the Armies might see every thing that passed. *Cæsar*, as he was Consul, sate in the midst, so they spent about two or three days there for the regulating their interests. This was towards the end of *November*, in the year above dated. At last it was agreed upon, *That* Cæsar *should quit the Quality of Consul, the Title whereof should be left to* Ventidius *for the rest of the year, That the Supreme Authority should be divided between those three in the same manner as it had been executed by Consuls, That they should keep it for the space of five years under the name of* Triumviri, *and in the Quality of the Reformers of the Commonwealth, That they should cause that Authority to be confirmed by the Roman People, That* Antonius *should have all intire on the other side of the* Alps, Lepidus *that on this side of the* Alps, *with* Spain, *and* Cæsar Africa, *with the Isles of* Sardignia, *and* Sicily, *That* Italy *should remain in Common, as also the Eastern Provinces, which were at present in the possession of* Brutus *and* Cassius. In this manner, says *Plutarch*, did these men divide the World between them, as if it had been their Inheritance. The charge of making War upon the Conspiratours was given to *Antonius*, and *Cæsar*, while *Lepidus* was to stay at *Rome* with four Legions. To *Antonius*'s Troops were added four more, and three to *Cæsar*'s, to the end that they might each have an Army of twenty Legions; afterwards they disposed the matter of Rewards, and that Article was indeed of great importance

tance for the retaining of the Troops in their Obedience; then was it ordered, *That the Lands and Houses of* 18 *of the best Cities of* Italy *which should be chosen out by the Triumviri, according as they found reason to be angry with them, should be abandoned in propriety to the Souldiers.* The greatest of them were *Capua, Regium, Benevent, Luceria, Rimini* and *Vibonia.* All this was regulated without the least contest or dispute, but they appeared something divided as to the revenge they resolved to take upon their Enemies; *Antonius* first demanded *Cicero,* whom *Cæsar* by some remainders of Friendship which he retained for him would have preserved; *Cæsar* would have *Lucius* firnamed like himself, *Cæsar,* and *Antonius*'s Uncle, and *Lepidus* was resolved to get rid of his Brother *Paulus,* who had appeared so violent in prosecuting his Condemnation, when he joined with *Antonius.* At last hatred got the better of Friendship, so *Cæsar* abandoned *Cicero,* for *Lucius,* and *Lepidus* had permission to put his Brother to death, and that their revenge too might appear the greater, they resolved to imitate the manner that *Marius* and *Sylla* had made use of. Upon a Tablet was written in great Letters the name of the Man Condemned, and this Tablet was set up in the publick place, which was the thing they called Proscription. From this moment any man might kill those who were Proscribed, and as great Rewards were set upon their Heads, it was very hard for any of them to escape

escape the fury of the Souldiers animated by their Interests. These terrible Articles being written and signed, *Cæsar* went to declare them to the Armies, who gave testimony of their exceeding Joy thereat, and then all the Souldiers of the three Armies came together, and mutually treated and entertained each other. In this manner was concluded that famous Triumvirate, the consequences whereof were so terrible, and which gave the last blow to the Roman Liberty. The Triumvirate is a Latine word, signifying a Partnership between three Men, that of a Triumvir serving to express any one of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Decree of the Triumvirate. The Proſcription. Murthers up and down the City.

THE Triumviri having thus eſtabliſhed their Authority, drew up a Roll of all thoſe they reſolved ſhould die, wherein though hatred ſeemed to have the greateſt part, yet Intereſt alſo at laſt came in for her ſhare. They wanted a great deal of Money for the carrying on of the War againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who found powerfull Succours in the Riches of *Aſia*, and from the aſſiſtence of the Eaſtern Princes, when on the other ſide theſe had onely *Europe* for their ſhare, and eſpecially *Italy*, which had been waſted, and drained by long Civil Wars; they laid great Impoſts upon Salt and other Merchandizes, but that not being ſufficient, they conſulted with themſelves to proſcribe a great many of the richeſt Men of *Rome*, and ſo make advantage by the Confiſcation of their Eſtates, but firſt they declared onely the names of ſeventeen Perſons who were the moſt heinous Enemies of theſe three Princes, *Paulus* was the firſt in the behalf of *Lepidus* his Brother; *Lucius Cæſar* followed *Paulus*, by *Cæſar*'s Order, and *Cicero* for *Antonius*; after theſe, were named *Plancus* and *Plotius* his Brother deſigned Conſuls for the year inſuing, the Father-in-Law of *Pollio*, and *Thoranius*, *Cæſar*'s Procuratour.

The

The Decree of Proſcription began in theſe Terms.

Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, *and* Octavius Cæſar, *Choſen for the Reformation of the Commonwealth. If the Generoſity of* Julius Cæſar *had not perſuaded him to pardon thoſe faithleſs Men, and give them beſides the lives they were unworthy of, Honours alſo, and Offices which they deſerved as little, after having taken up Arms againſt his Perſon, he had not fallen ſo cruelly by their Treaſon, nor ſhould we have been forced to uſe the ways of Rigour againſt thoſe who have declared us Enemies to our Countrey, but the hatefull deſigns which they have formed againſt us, the horrible Treachery they ſhewed towards* Cæſar, *and the knowledge which we have of their Malice and Obſtinacy in their pernicious Opinions force us to prevent thoſe Evils which may fall upon us.* The reſt contained a juſtification of the Triumvirates proceedings, founded upon the advantages which *Cæſar* had acquired to the Romans by his Victories, the ingratitude of his Murtherers, who had been almoſt all of them honoured by his Beneficence, and by his Friendſhip, the neceſſity of puniſhing thoſe Enemies, who by their Artifices might involve the City of *Rome* in unhappy Diviſions, while *Cæſar* and *Antonius* were employed againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and the Example of *Sylla*. At laſt, after having implored the aſſiſtence of the Gods, and good Fortune, they concluded thus, *That no man ſhould dare to receive, conceal, or help to eſcape any of thoſe who were Proſcribed upon any*

pre-

pretence whatsoever, nor to give them Money, or other relief, nor to hold any intelligence with them upon pain of being put into the same state without hopes of pardon. That whosoever should bring in the head of a Proscribed Man, should have 2000 *Crowns, if a Freed-man, and if he were a Slave, his liberty and* 1000 *Crowns. That the Slave who should kill his Master, should have besides that, moreover the right of a free Citizen. That the same reward should be given to those who should declare the place where any Proscribed Man was retreated, and that the name of the Discoverer should not be written in any Register or other Memorial, to the end that it might never be known who he was.* The Souldiers arrived before the Decree, and killed at first four of the Proscripts, some in their Lodgings, and others in the Streets, after which they ran up and down to the Houses and the Temples, causing a general Terrour, nothing was to be heard but cries and lamentations, and in regard the Decree was not yet made publick, every one was afraid, and fansied himself in the number of those that were Condemned, some even became so very desperate, that they resolved to involve the whole City in their destruction, and set it on fire, *Pedius* hindred this disorder by causing it to be published, *That onely some few of the Enemies of the Triumvirate were sought after, and that the others had nothing to be afraid of.* So the next day he caused to be posted up the names of those seventeen who were Condemned, but heated himself so much with

with running up and down to satisfie the minds of the People, that he died the night following.

CHAP. XXXII.

The entry of the Triumvirate into Rome. *Murthers committed, and the sad condition which that City was in.*

AFTER this the Triumvirate made their entry into the City upon three several days, *Cæsar* upon the first, *Antonius* upon the second, and *Lepidus* upon the third; each bringing with him a Legion for his Guard. The Law by which they invested themselves with Consular Authority for the space of five years, and declared themselves Reformers of the Commonwealth was published by *Titius* Tribune of the People, and the night following they added the names of 130 Persons to those they had already Proscribed. A little time after they proclaimed 150 more, upon pretence that they had been forgotten, by which means the unfortunate number encreased every day, till it amounted to 300 Senatours, and above 2000 Knights. No man durst refuse entrance into his House to any of the Souldiers, who searched the most secret places, and *Rome* at this time appeared like a Town that was exposed to waste and pillage. In this disor-

der several who had never been Condemned, either by malice or mistake were slain, and known afterwards by their heads not being cut off. In short, all the most Tragick fury that either revenge, hatred, or interest could produce, and all the most generous kindness that love and fidelity could inspire, were to be seen in divers accidents relating to this Proscription. *Salvius* a Tribune of the People, was the first that was slain as he was sitting at the Table, and entertaining his Friends, because he had too lightly forsaken *Antonius*'s Interest, whom he had supported against *Cicero*. The Pretor *Minutius* was lost by the folly of those who in point of Honour would follow him, and were the cause of his being discovered. *Annalis* and *Thauranius* were betrayed by their own Sons, who by Divine Justice were afterwards rewarded for it. *Ignatius* and his Sons slew each other. The tenderness of a Father was fatal to *Blavus*, who came back and willingly suffered death to save his Sons. And *Ligarius* drowned himself in despair, for that he could not help his Brother, whom he saw slain before his face. *Salassus* his Wife betrayed her Husband, and *Fulvius* was delivered by a Slave that he kept. *Statius* at the Age of 24 years, was Proscribed for his great Riches, which he abandoned to pillage, and setting his House on fire, burnt himself with it. *Cæpio*, after having made a brave resistence, dy'd with his Sword in his hand, and *Veratinus* having got together a great

a great many more Proſcripts beſides himſelf, ſlew by their help a conſiderable number of Souldiers, and made his eſcape into *Sicily*. *Naſo* ſnatcht a Sword out of one of the Souldiers hands, and with it killed the Slave that had betrayed him. On the contrary, another Slave ſlew him who Commanded the Party that had cut his Maſters Throat. *Æmilius* ſeeing ſome Souldiers running after one of theſe unfortunate People, asked, *Who the Proſcribed man was? It is your ſelf*, ſaid one of the Souldiers who knew him, and immediately ſlew him. And *Cillius* and *Decius* ſeeing their Names written in the Tablet, attempting unadviſedly to flie, by that means drew the Souldiers after them, and were ſlain. *Icillius* joining himſelf with ſome People who were carrying a dead Body out of the City, was ſlain by the Guards at the Gate, who knew him, by taking notice that there was one bearer more than the ordinary number. *Varus*, who had hid himſelf in a Marſh near *Minturnum*, was taken for a Robber, but diſcovering his name to make himſelf known, was ſlain by ſome Souldiers, who by chance were there. *Largus* having been ſpared by ſome Souldiers of his Acquaintance, and meeting others that purſued him, he returned back to thoſe who had ſaved him, to the end that they might gain the reward of killing him. The Head of *Rufus* being brought to *Antonius*, who was Proſcribed, becauſe he refuſed to ſell a fair Houſe

which ſtood near *Fulvia*'s, he ſaid, *That that Preſent belonged to his Wife, and ſent it to her.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Some ſtirs amongſt the People. The death of Cicero.

NOtwithſtanding the fear which theſe terrible examples had generally cauſed, the People forbore not to ſhew ſome courage. A certain Slave having hid his Maſter, took his habit upon him, and preſented himſelf to the Souldiers, who were in ſearch of him, but another Slave diſcovered the Fact, and the Maſter was ſlain, upon which the People roſe up againſt this faithleſs Fellow, and the Triumviri were forced to cauſe him to be puniſhed, and the truſty Slave to be rewarded. Another having betrayed his Maſter *Aterius*, and obtaining his Liberty, taken poſſeſſion of his Goods, the Children of *Aterius*, purſued him up and down the City to doe him violence; upon this the People roſe again, ſo that the Triumvirate reſtored the Goods to the Children, and put the Slave into their hands, upon pretence that he had exceeded the terms of the Decree. There were a hundred Examples of the like nature, which would be too long to recount: but the Eloquence

Eloquence of *Cicero*, and the obligation which all learned Men have to this day to his Memory, and the Works he has left behind him, deſerve that we inſiſt a little upon the circumſtances of his death. He was with his Brother *Quintus* at *Tuſculum*, one of his Countrey Houſes, where they underſtood the news of the Proſcription, ſo they went both to *Aſtyra* to embark themſelves for their paſſage into *Macedonia*, but having in their haſte and fear forgotten to take Money with them, *Quintus* returned and was ſlain a few days after, together with his Sons, who ſuffered themſelves to be a long time tormented before they would diſcover where their Father was concealed. *Cicero* went a-board a certain Ship, but the inconveniences of his Age augmented by the diſorders he was in, and the fatigues of being at Sea forced him to row back to land; there divided between the hopes which he had in *Cæſar*'s Friendſhip, and the fear of death, he formed a thouſand reſolutions, and amongſt the reſt to go and kill himſelf in *Cæſar*'s preſence, by that means to faſten upon his Perſon thoſe Furies which revenge the rights of violated Friendſhip. In the mean time he could find no way for his ſafety, and after all theſe inquietudes, cauſed himſelf to be carried in a *Felluca* to a certain Houſe which he had near *Capua*. It is ſaid, that during this ſhort Voyage, ſeveral Crows coming from a certain Temple of *Apollo*, which ſtands by the Sea-ſide, perched themſelves

ſelves upon the Sails and rigging of the little Veſſel that carried him, and when he was a-ſhore, and in his Houſe the ſame Crows came and fluttered about the Window of the Chamber, where he was retired to reſt himſelf; one of thoſe very Crows came even into the Room, and with his bill ſpread the Cloathes that covered *Cicero*: the example of this Creature was the occaſion that his Slaves became ſenſible of their own Idleneſs, in that they took no more pains to ſave the life of a man for whoſe preſervation the very Birds of the air ſeemed to be concerned; ſo they took him up almoſt by force to carry him to Sea, but being ſo very famous and well known as he was, every ſtep he made, and all his places of retreat were diſcovered, and *Popilius Lena* the Tribune, with a certain Captain called *Herennius*, came to his Houſe the very moment after he had left it. This *Lena* had had great obligations to *Cicero*, who had ſaved his life by pleading for him when he ſtood accuſed for the death of his own Father, they made uſe of all manner of violence againſt his Slaves, to force them to diſcover where their Maſter was, but they all conſtantly perſiſted that they knew nothing of the matter, till either one named *Cirillus*, who had heretofore ſerved *Clodius*, who was *Cicero*'s mortal Enemy, or elſe *Philologus*, *Quintus*'s Freedman, diſcovered to *Lena* that they were now carrying him through the paſſages of a certain Wood that lead to the Sea-ſide. *Lena*

got

got before, with part of the Souldiers, and *Herennius* followed the Litter through the narrow paths. *Cicero* understanding they were coming, Commanded those who carried him, to stop, and when the Souldiers were come up, he put his Head out of the Litter, and lookt upon them with a great deal of assurance. This constancy which they expected not from him, and his face disfigured, as it was, with the troubles he had lain under, was the reason that several of them stopt and turned away their Eyes while *Herennius* slew him; he cut off his Head and both his hands, which were carried to *Antonius*. As he was extremely inraged against *Cicero* for the Orations which he had made against him, he could not forbear insulting over those poor Members with the most injurious reproaches, declaring aloud, *That his revenge was now completed, and that he would have no further to doe with the Proscription.* But *Fulvia*'s hatred could not be confined to words, for she pierced his Tongue several times with a golden Bodkin which she wore in her hair, and afterwards *Antonius* gave Orders that the Head and Hands should be set up upon a place called the *Rostrum*, where the Roman People could not without Horrour see those sad remains of a Man who had so often Triumphed there by the force and Charms of his Eloquence. Thus died *Cicero* at the Age of sixty four years, he was a Man of most extraordinary qualifications, especially those

that relate to Civil Matters and Rules of Government, which had justly advanced him amongst the most Illustrious Men of the Age he lived in. *Antonius* himself, as *Plutarch* reports, made some sort of reparation to his memory, for he put *Philologus* into the hands of *Pomponia*, *Cicero*'s Sister-in-Law, who tormented him to death.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Triumph of Lepidus. *The Goods of the Proscripts set to Sale. Attacks upon the Roman Ladies. Their speech to the Triumvirate.*

WHILE these things were performing, *Lepidus* resolved to Triumph over some Nations that he had conquered in *Spain*, the Edict of the Triumph was very particular, and deserves therefore to be mentioned, it being in these terms, *To all those who shall honour our Triumph with Sacrifices, publick Feastings, and other demonstrations of Joy, Health and good Fortune, but to those who refuse it misery and Proscription.* We may easily imagine how universal the joy was upon this occasion, for every one stood in awe of the Proscription, and *Lepidus* entred Triumphant into the City, where the Ceremony was honoured with more Sacrifices and Feastings than had ever appeared in the like case before. Then was set to sale the

the Goods of the Proſcripts (that is to ſay) the immoveables for the moveables had been plundered, but there were found very few Chapmen, for it was lookt upon as a piece of Inhumanity to ruine Families that were otherwiſe enough afflicted already; beſides, there appeared no ſecurity for Title to any ſuch Goods, nor was any man willing to ſeem Rich by purchaſing in ſuch dangerous times. Some few, who were not of the wiſeſt ſort, were willing to run the hazard for the ſake of a good Market, but that did not ſatisfie the Triumvirate, they had need of 200000 Talents for the War, which was a ſum not to be found any where but in the City, they could there reckon up 1400 of the richeſt Ladies of *Rome*, Mothers, Daughters, Kinſwomen, or Allies to their Enemies; theſe Alliances were very exactly enquired into, and very far fetched, for to be rich, was enough to belong to one of the Proſcripts. Theſe Ladies aſſembled themſelves, and went to find out the Mother and Siſters of *Cæſar*, who gave them a very civil hearing. *Antonius* his Mother did the ſame thing, and *Fulvia* onely refuſed to ſee them; this forc't them to go to the Palace of the Triumviri, where at firſt they were repulſed by the Guards of Souldier, but made ſo much noiſe, that at laſt one of them was permitted to ſpeak, upon condition that the reſt would be ſilent; this was *Hortentia*, the Daughter of a certain Nobleman called

Hor-

Hortensius, who alone of all the Orators had been able to dispute with *Cicero* for Eloquence, *My Lords*, said she, *the Ladies which you see here imploring your Justice and your Bounty had never appeared in this place, till after having made use of all means that their Natural Modesty and best understanding could inform them of; We have sought the protection of your Mothers and your Wifes, but the Respects we paid, could not find favour with* Fulvia, *which has forced us here to make a publick Complaint, though it be contrary to those rules of Decency prescribed our Sex, and which we have hitherto most exactly observed. Ye have deprived us of our Fathers, our Children, our Brethren, and our Husbands; Ye pretend that ye have been affronted, but what Injury have the Women done you that they must be impoverished, if they are as blameable as the rest, why do ye not proscribe them too? In the mean time none of our Sex have ever declared you your Country's Enemies. We have neither plundered your Goods, nor suborned your Souldiers. We have raised no Troops against you, nor opposed those Honours and Offices which ye pretend to. Since therefore the Women have no part in those Actions that offend you, surely they ought not in Justice to suffer the punishment which ye impose upon them; Empire, Dignities and Honours are not made for us. We pretend not to govern the Re-publick, nor is it our Ambition which has drawn the present misfortune on our Heads. What reason have we to contribute to a War wherein we have no manner of Interest? War has already raised this City to that height*

of

of glory which we now see her in. In the mean while there is no Example to be found that the Women ever were concerned in it, the natural Privilege of our Sex has exempted us from that profession. It is true, indeed, that in the Carthaginian War our Mothers assisted the Re-publick, it being at that time in a desperate condition; but for all that, neither their Houses, their Lands, nor their Moveables were sold for that service, some Rings and some Jewels furnished out the supply, but it was neither constraint, punishment nor violence that forc't them to it, but they did it of their own good will and generous disposition. What fear at present are ye in for the City, which is our common Country? What imminent danger threatens it? If the Galls or Parthians come and attack it, ye shall not find us less Zealous in its defence than our Mothers were before us; but we have nothing to doe, nor ought to be concerned in Civil Wars, neither Cæsar *nor* Pompey *did ever oblige us to it,* Marius *and* * Cinna *did never so much as propose it, no, not* Sylla *himself, who was the first that ever set up Tyranny in* Rome. *In the mean time ye come to reform the State, and ye adorn your selves with that glorious Title.* This discourse appeared so bold a thing to the Triumvirate, and of so dangerous a consequence, to see that the Women durst speak to them thus in publick, when fear had tied up the Tongues of the Men, that they sent their Ushers to cause them to retire; but perceiving that that proceeding displeased the People, who began to cry out against such violence, they adjour-

* *He was called* Cornelius, *and governed Tyrannically in* Rome *during the Wars between* Marius *and* Sylla.

adjourned the affair till the next day, and for the ſatisfaction of the People, retrenched the number of the Ladies to 400, but at the ſame time taxed above 100000 Men, as well Citizens as Strangers, without ſparing even the Sacrificers themſelves for the payment of a 50*th* part of all their Eſtate, and a whole years Revenue. Upon this pretence the Souldiers committed ſuch horrible violences, that the Triumviri were forced to Commiſſionate one from amongſt them to hinder thoſe diſorders; but not daring to meddle with the Souldiers, the puniſhment fell upon ſome Slaves, who were diſguiſed in their habits, and ſo Crucified.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Several of the Proſcripts eſcape into Sicily *to* Sextus, *the Son of* Pompey. *Some extraordinary Adventures during the Proſcription.*

AS many as could eſcape the Cruelty of the Proſcription, retired either into *Macedonia* to *Brutus*, or into *Africa* to *Cornificius*, but the greateſt part went to young *Pompey* in *Sicily*, he was the ſecond Son of *Pompey* the Great, for the eldeſt was ſlain after having loſt the Battel of *Munda* againſt *Julius Cæſar*. The youth of the youngeſt was the reaſon that he had not been taken notice of, but his Courage and Bravery ſoon after rendred him very formidable. He lived for ſome time as a Pirate, without making himſelf known any otherways than by the boldneſs of his Actions, but when he found himſelf in Reputation, he ſoon declared who he was, and rallied together his Father's Friends. He routed a conſiderable Army that *Julius Cæſar* had ſent againſt him, and made himſelf at laſt ſo powerfull, that it was found neceſſary to give him the Government of *Sicily*, and the Office of Admiral, which his Father had executed before him. His Generoſity was at this time a very great ſuccour to many Illuſtrious Perſons, he ſent Brigantines and other ſmall Veſſels to all the Coaſts of *Italy*, to receive ſuch as made their eſcape, and treated them all

all with a great deal of kindneſs. *Lepidus* his Brother, and *Antonius* his Uncle got away by other means. *Paulus* was ſpared by the Souldiers, who were not very fond of laying violent hands upon the Brother of a Triumvir, and retreated into *Macedonia*. *Lucius* ſaved himſelf in his Siſters Houſe, who was *Antonius* his Mother, and who generouſly oppoſed thoſe who purſued him, the Souldiers would not meddle with him there, conſidering he was under her Protection, ſo ſhe went to find out her Son, who was with his Collegues, *I am come*, ſaid ſhe, *to accuſe my ſelf for having taken my Brother into my Houſe, where I am reſolved to protect him, till ye ſhall think fit to put us both to death together, for I am not ignorant what puniſhment is propoſed to the Concealers of Proſcripts.* *Antonius* anſwered, *That ſhe had done like a good Siſter, but an ill Mother*, and *Lucius* was no more enquired after, * *Meſſala* was recalled by the Triumvirate, they by a publick Declaration owning, *That he had nothing to doe in* Cæſar's *Murther*. But he refuſed to return, and ſerved under *Brutus* till after the Battel of *Philippi*. *Bibulus* had the ſame Fortune, and got himſelf afterwards great employments. *Lentulus*, *Apuleius* and *Antius* made their eſcape with their Wifes, who would not forſake them. *Reginus* was concealed by his, and when he was going out of the City diſguiſed in a Colliers habit, his Wife following in a Litter, was ſtopped by a Souldier, *Reginus* turned back to deſire the Man, *That he would*

* Valerius.

have

have some respect for the Ladies. The Souldier who had served under him, knew him again, and said, *O save your self my General, for I shall always call you so, in what miserable condition soever I shall find you. Coponius* his Wife, who was very beautifull, got her Husband's Pardon by another favour which she paid for it to *Antonius*. *Geta* and *Oppius* were saved by their Sons, *Geta* having lost one of his Eyes by wearing a Plaster upon it too long for a disguise, and *Oppius* his Son having to save his Father, carried him upon his Shoulders, was for that Action alone declared *Edilis* by the People, and not being rich enough to furnish out the expences of the Games, all the Workmen gave him generously their labour for nothing, and those who assisted at the Shew, made him such Presents, that he became very rich. *Arianus*, and *Metellus* escaped also by the assistence of their Children. *Restio*, *Appio*, *Mencius*, and *Junius*, by their Slaves. *Restio's* adventure was something more than ordinary, he had with a hot iron marked one of his Slaves in the fore-head, that being the punishment they usually inflicted on such as indeavoured to run away; this Slave had discovered the place where his Master lay concealed, and came thither to find him. *Restio* believed that he should be lost, and that the Slave would now revenge himself, but he assured him to the contrary, saying, *Can my Master believe that the Characters imprinted upon my fore-head have made more impression there*

than

than the benefits which I have received from him have done in my heart? After this he Conducted him to a Cave, whither he dayly brought him Provisions. A great many Souldiers were passing often by the place, and occasioned a thousand fears to the Slave; at last he followed at the heels of one of the Troops, and took his time so well, that he fell upon an old Peasant, and slew him before their faces, the Souldiers ran upon him as a Murtherer, but he said; *That it was his Master whom he had killed to revenge himself for the infamous marks which they might see upon his forehead.* The design was too well laid not to succeed, the Characters were visible, and security enough for him, so the Souldiers took the head of a Peasant for that of *Restio*, who by this means was at the liberty of making his escape more easily. The generosity of the Slaves of *Appio* and *Meneius* is yet more admirable, they suffered themselves to be both slain in their Masters habits, the one in a Litter, and the other upon a Bed, *Appio* himself standing by at the Murther disguised like a Slave. I do not believe that any thing can be added to these examples of fidelity, and shall conclude with the bold undertaking of *Pomponius*, he dressed himself like a Pretor, and his Slaves like Ushers, and in this condition went out of the City surrounded by these Slaves, he made his travelling charges all the way upon the publick expence, saying, *That he was sent by the Triumvirate to young* Pompey. At last he

he got himſelf a good Ship, but ſtill as Pretor, and paſt eaſily over into *Sicily*. *Hirtius*, *Apuleius* and *Aruntius* made their eſcape with their Swords in their hands; * *Ventidius* as a Captain that was ſent to ſearch for Proſcripts; and another Senatour, wearied out with the dayly cares of concealing himſelf, cauſed himſelf to be ſhaved, took openly a little School, and kept it publickly ſo long as the Proſcription laſted, no body imagining that a miſerable Pedant could ever have been conſiderable enough to have been Proſcribed.

* *This was not he that Triumphed over the Parthians.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Examples of several remarkable changes of Fortune.

THough the story of these accidents may seem perhaps a little too long, as they relate properly to the Triumvirate. We ought not to pass over two Examples which are very natural instances of the inconstancy and revolution of Humane Fortune. *Balbinus* being Proscribed by *Antonius*, had with much adoe made his retreat to *Pompey*, who after several years of War came to an agreement with *Cæsar*. *Balbinus* returned to *Rome*, where he afterwards obtained the Dignity of Consul. *Lepidus* was at that time fallen from that high estate, where he had once appeared, *Cæsar* having given him his life merely out of Compassion. It happened that his Wife and his Son were accused by *Mecœnas*, the Governour of *Rome*, for a Conspiracy against the life of *Cæsar*, the Son was sent Prisoner to *Actium*, and the Wife forced to give security before the Consul. *Lepidus*, who solicited for her, had several times been repulsed at *Balbinus* his Gate, at last he got an opportunity of speaking with him, and said thus, *You know very well that I have no share in my Son's Offence, and that it was not I who Proscribed you, though it were at that time in my power to have done it, therefore I beg of you to reflect upon the sad alteration of*

* Cajus Cilnius Mecœnas *he was the Favourite of* Augustus, *and the man whose name is so Celebrated amongst the learned.*

of our Fortune, and to grant me the favour I beg of you, either take my ſecurity for my Wife, or ſend me with her a Priſoner to Cæſar. *Balbinus* touched with Compaſſion to ſee a Man at his feet, whoſe power heretofore had been ſo formidable, made thoſe reflexions he deſired, and diſcharged his Wife. The other Example is of *Cicero*'s Son, he was with *Brutus* at the time of his Father's death, and ſerved under him as a Lieutenant General, and after his defeat made his retreat with *Pompey*, who gave him the ſame employment. *Pompey* made his own Peace, and *Cicero* returned to *Rome*, where *Cæſar* to ſhew the eſteem he had for his Father, gave him the Dignity of chief *Pontifex*, and choſe him for his Collegue in the Conſulſhip after the defeat of *Antonius*. *Cicero* had by this means the ſatisfaction of ſeeing in his power the memory of *Antonius*, who was Condemned by the Senate, all his Images broken down, and a Decree paſt, *That none of that Family ſhould ever after take upon them the ſirname of* Marcus. During which time *Cæſar* teſtified ſo great a Veneration for the Memory of *Cicero*, that having one day found one of his Books in the hands of his * Grandſon, who indeavoured to hide it for fear leſt *Auguſtus* ſhould be angry with him for reading in it, he took the Book, and having read a good while, returned it to him again, ſaying, *My Son, he was a very knowing Man, and Zealous for his Countrey.* By this means the death of *Cicero* was revenged upon the memory of his

* *One of the Sons of* Agrippa *and* Julia, *called* Cajus.

teſt Enemy, as was his Eloquence alſo upon the back of an impertinent Critick called *Cælius*, who had undertaken to expoſe the Works of that great Oratour. *Cicero* the Son cauſed his Slaves to whip him, ſo the Critick burnt his Remarks, which had brought upon his Bones ſo ſcurvy an anſwer. Even *Brutus* had his ſhare too in revenging *Cicero*, and notwithſtanding his moderation, and the diſturbance which the Letter written to *Octavius* had given him, he ſacrificed to him *Cajus* the Brother of *Antonius*, whom *Hortentius* put to death by his Orders.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The end of the Proſcription. War in Africa. Sextius, Cæſar's *Lieutenant, overthrows* Cornificius, *the Lieutenant of* Brutus.

AT laſt the Triumviri came into the Senate to declare that the Proſcription was at an end. *Lepidus* excuſed himſelf for what had paſſed, and aſſured the Senatours of a more moderate Conduct. *Cæſar*, who was more Politick, ſaid, *That he would yet reſerve to himſelf the liberty of puniſhing ſuch as were guilty.* In the mean time he had long diſputed with the other two concerning the Proſcription, but it was his judgment now that the Spirits of the People ought to be kept in awe in the preſent conjuncture, when *Brutus* and *Caſſius* became dayly more formidable, and when their Lieutenants ſtill diſputed for *Africa* with thoſe of *Cæſar*. * *Cornificius* was there with Troops in behalf of *Brutus*, and when *Sextius* arrived there on *Cæſar*'s part, and publiſhed the Ordinance of the People, the Decree of the Senate was produced in anſwer to them, ſo that Arms was the laſt recourſe for the maintenance of their Rights. *Sextius* being the weakeſt, retreated into a ſtrong place, where he was beſieged by *Ventidius*, *Cornificius* his Lieutenant. He defended himſelf very well, and in the mean time held intelligence with *Arabio*, a King of that Countrey, and a cer-

* *This was another, and no* Cæſar's *Friend who had accuſed* Brutus.

tain People called *Sittians*, who were the reſidue of ſome Roman Souldiers eſtabliſhed in *Libya* under the Conduct of *Sittius*, who had been baniſhed from *Rome*. The Sons of this *Sittius* had been obliged to *Julius Cæſar*, which cauſed them with *Arabio* to aſſiſt *Sextius*. *Sextius* ſtrengthened with theſe ſuccours, got the better of *Ventidius*, and that done, marched againſt *Corniſicius*, who expected him near *Utica*. The ſtrength of both Armies conſiſted in their Cavalry, *Lælius Corniſicius*'s Lieutenant, came with all his to diſcover the ſtrength of *Sextius*, *Arabio* was detached to oppoſe him; in the mean time *Sextius* charged *Lælius* upon th eflank, and forc'd him to retreat up to a Hill, where *Arabio* had orders to attack him. *Corniſicius* having left his Retrenchments to ſuccour his Lieutenant, *Sextius* marched againſt him, while a Party of *Arabio*'s Troops, who knew the Countrey, found a way through the Rocks, and came to riſle *Corniſicius* his Camp. *Roſcius*, who Commanded there, was ſlain at the firſt on-ſet, and the Camp plundered, *Corniſicius* being preſſed by *Sextius*, would have retreated towards his Lieutenant, but was cut off by *Arabio*'s Cavalry, who ſlew him. When, *Lælius* beholding the action from the hill, where he was poſted, died by his own hand, the Troops thus deprived of their Commanders, were eaſily put to the rout, and that great Victory which got *Cæſar* all *Africa*, coſt *Sextius* but a very few Men,

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Dolabella *is defeated and ſlain by* Caſſius.

Dolabella had not the ſame ſucceſs in *Syria*, where *Caſſius* made War upon him with 12 Legions, and a body of Parthian Cavalry, whom his reputation had drawn into his ſervice. *Dolabella* had got together a great Fleet of Ships out of *Lycia*, *Rhodes* and *Cilicia*, which *Figulus* Commanded under him: for himſelf, he was got into *Laodicea*, with two Legions, where *Caſſius* beſieged him, and ſent orders into *Phœnicia*, *Libya* and *Rhodes*, for the procuring of Ships alſo. The names of theſe Provinces being often mentioned in this Hiſtory, it will be but reaſonable to give ſome account in groſs of what they are at preſent. *Syria* was a place of great extent, and contained all thoſe Countries which are upon the Coaſt of the Mediterranean Sea from the Gulph of *Iſſica*, at preſent called the gulph of *Laiazzo*, as far as *Ægypt*, for *Paleſtine*, (called at preſent the Holy-Land) was compriſed under the name and Government of the lower *Syria*, the largeneſs of that Province reached as far as *Euphrates*. The reſt of *Aſia*, which was ſubject to the Romans, was called *Natolia*, or the leſſer *Aſia*, as it is at preſent, and contained a great many Provinces from *Laiazzo*, as far as the Euxine Sea, which we call the black Sea,

all that Countrey being at preſent ſubjected to the Turk; it was then very much peopled, though it be not ſo now, except upon the Sea Coaſts. *Phœnicia* is that little Countrey, where ſtood the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, at preſent *Sur* and *Sayde*; and *Libya* contained all that Coaſt of *Africa*, called at preſent *Barbary*, from *Tripolis* as far as *Algier*. We may find a more exact deſcription in Geographical Writings, but this is ſufficient for our underſtanding of the preſent Hiſtory. *Caſſius* his orders were but very ill executed, for the Sidonians onely ſent him Ships, the Rhodians excuſing themſelves, and *Libya* was wholly ſubmitted to *Cæſar* by the Victory of *Sextius*. *Caſſius* with what Ships he had went and attacked the Fleet of *Dolabella*, who put him to flight, and took five of his Ships, which forced him to diſpatch more preſſing Orders even to *Cleopatra*, but as the inclinations of that Queen were not much diſpoſed towards that Party, ſhe excuſed her ſelf upon the Famine which at that time raged in *Ægypt*. In the mean time ſhe put to Sea a powerfull Fleet to ſuccour *Dolabella*, but the Winds and Tempeſts oppoſed her deſign, and her Fleet being much ſhattered and indamaged, became of no uſe at that time to *Cæſar*'s Party. *Serapion*, who Commanded for her in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, took other meaſures, he came and joined *Caſſius*'s Fleet with a great ſupply of Ships, thoſe of *Tyre* ſent him ſome alſo, by which means he found him-

himſelf in a condition to block up *Dolabella* both by Sea and Land. *Cleopatra* afterwards diſavowed what *Serapion* had done, but there is great reaſon to believe that ſhe managed her ſelf ſo between both Parties, to ſee on which ſide Fortune would declare her ſelf. The Lycians and Rhodians ſent word to *Caſſius* that they would have nothing to doe with the Roman Wars, and that the Ships which they had lent *Dolabella*, had no orders to fight. This anſwer provoked *Caſſius*, but he judged it was no proper time at preſent to ſhew that reſentment, which afterwards cauſed the deſolation of thoſe two Provinces. He attacked *Dolabella*, who made a great defence by land, and fought one Battel with equal advantage, but his Fleet was intirely defeated, and *Caſſius* having corrupted ſome Souldiers of the Garriſon took the City of *Laodicea* by ſurprizal. *Dolabella* cauſed one of his Souldiers to cut his throat, who when he had done killed himſelf, and the City was left to be plundered. *Caſſius* cauſed the principal Citizens to be put to death, and forc'd the others to redeem themſelves at ſuch great Ranſomes, that the City was utterly laid deſolate.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Cassius *lays waste the City of* Tharsus. *He joins himself with* Brutus. *They take measures for carrying on the War.*

THIS Victory put *Cassius* upon making new Conquests, and he was threatning *Cleopatra* and her Kingdom, when he received Letters from *Brutus*, who sent him word, *That as the cares which they took to raise such powerfull Armies, were not designed for their particular advancement, but the liberty of their Countrey; they ought not so much to think of gaining glory by new Conquests, as destroying those who sought the ruine of that liberty: that therefore it was high time to turn their thoughts towards* Italy, *which now groaned under the oppression of Tyrants.* *Cassius*, who had great respect for *Brutus* his Vertue, quitted his enterprise, and marched directly to him. The City of *Tharsus* stood unhappily in his way, it was at that time divided into two different Factions, which were the cause of its ruine; they had honoured *Cassius* with a Crown of Gold when he came into *Syria*, and another Party had done the same Honours to *Dolabella*. They had also charged some of *Cimber*'s Troops, who came to join *Cassius*'s Army, which was the reason that he Condemned them to the payment of 1500 Talents; for the furnishing of this sum, they first sold the Goods of the Publick, and

and the Ornaments of their Temples, afterwards their Children of both Sexes, and at laſt their Women and their old Men; and as the Price of all theſe things did not amount to the Tax, they found themſelves reduced to ſell their young Men, ſome whereof in deſpair hanged themſelves. This cruel neceſſity did at laſt move *Caſſius* to pity, who remitted them the reſt of the payment, but the City remained in a very miſerable condition. *Brutus* ſtaid for him hard by *Smyrna*, and it was in paſſing through *Europe* into *Aſia*, that he cauſed that famous Medal to be ſtamped with his own Image on one ſide, and on the reverſe a Cap, the mark of Liberty between two Poniards, with theſe words, *Eidus Martias* (that is to ſay) the day of the Ides of *March*. They met extremely joyfull to ſee themſelves followed by ſuch great Forces, as put them into a condition of diſputing the Roman Empire and Liberty, after having left *Rome* in a miſerable condition, deſpoiled of all their Fortune without Money, and without Forces. *Brutus* had drained his *Finances* for the equipping of a Fleet, ſo he demanded of *Caſſius* half of that Money which he had raiſed in *Aſia*. This Propoſition offended *Caſſius*'s Friends, who could not take it well that the fruit of their toils, and the hazards they had run, ſhould be divided for the inriching of *Brutus*'s Souldiers; *Caſſius* alſo thought no leſs, but however durſt not refuſe a third of what he had gotten. Then they fell to debating

bating what meaſures they ought to take. *Brutus* was for paſſing into *Greece*, where *Cæſar* and *Antonius* were expected with fourty Legions, and where *Decidius Saxa*, and *Norbanus* were already arrived with eight. *Caſſius* ſaid, *That that great number of Forces ought to render them the leſs formidable, ſince they would find in that Countrey two Enemies, which were Want and Famine, to fight againſt them. That they ought therefore to leave them to be deſtroyed by thoſe means, and to attack* Rhodes *and the Lycians, by that means to leave the Enemy no relief or retreat behind them.* His advice was followed, and the Armies divided, *Brutus* marched againſt the Lycians, and *Caſſius* againſt *Rhodes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

Caſſius *attacks* Rhodes. *The ſiege of that City. The taking and deſolation of* Rhodes *by* Caſſius.

THAT City was at this time very ſtrong, and in great reputation for its Naval Forces, they had three and thirty Ships of War, beſides a great many other ſmall Veſſels, all which had rendred that People very ſturdy and inſolent. The moſt Wiſe, and the richeſt amongſt them, who dreaded the Valour of the Romans, prevailed. Nevertheleſs, that ſome body ſhould be ſent to *Caſſius* to make an excuſe for thoſe ſuccours which they had given *Dolabella*, with offers to follow the orders of the Senate. *Caſſius* anſwered the Deputies, *That they ought to defend themſelves by Arms, and not by ſuch pitifull reaſons, that to give proof of their neutrality, they ought to aſſiſt him as they had aided* Dolabella. *That in reſpect of the orders of the Senate, the Propoſition which they made of obſerving them was ridiculous, ſince they could not be ignorant that the greateſt part of the Senatours were diſperſed by the cruelty of thoſe Tyrants who oppreſſed the City of* Rome. *That he ſhould find yet a way how to puniſh thoſe Tyrants, and Chaſtiſe the Rhodians alſo if they would not obey.* This anſwer terrified all thoſe who were capable of any conſideration, but the raſh and ſilly People immediately choſe them Captains.

tains. They ſpoke of nothing but the Victories which they had obtained againſt * *Mithridates* and † *Demetrius*. *Caſſius* (ſaid they) *is neither ſo great a Man, nor an abler Officer*. He had heretofore ſtudied at *Rhodes*, where his Tutour ſtill lived, being a learned Man, and of very agreeable converſation, whoſe name was *Archelaus*. He coming to give *Caſſius* a viſit, (who ſtill preſerved a reſpect for his Perſon) repreſented to him the glory and vertue of the ancient Inhabitants of *Rhodes*, the fidelity which they had ever preſerved towards the Roman People, their Alliances confirmed by ſo many Oaths. In ſhort, the Education and good Literature which *Caſſius* had received in that City. *Caſſius* anſwered, *That* Archelaus *muſt have done him wrong, if he had not counſelled the Rhodians to have imbraced his intereſts, but that if he had given them that Counſel, he came to ſupport them with his Arms*. He complained of the ſuccours they had given to *Dolabella*, *That the fidelity and thoſe alliances which they alledged, ought to be an obligation upon them to ſupport the liberty of* Rome, *and thoſe who defended it. That he demanded ſuccours of them as Pretor, created by the Senate, and the honeſteſt party of the Roman People, and in the name of many noble Senatours and other Romans who were with him. That if they would not acknowledge him in that Quality, neither he nor thoſe Senatours could look upon them any otherways than as Strangers and Enemies*. After this anſwer *Archelaus* took his leave, the Rhodians immediately put their

* *A King of* Pontus, *who made War upon the Romans* 40 *years.*

† *A King of* Macedonia, *and the Son of* Antigonus, *one of* Alexander's *Commanders.*

their Fleet to Sea under two Commanders, whoſe names were *Alexander* and *Manaſſes*, and came to meet *Caſſius* as far as *Gnidos*. This was the ſame place where they had beaten the Army of *Mithridates*, which ſeemed a favourable Omen to their preſent undertaking. *Caſſius* having cauſed his Fleet to advance, the fight became long and bloudy, by reaſon of the Valour of the Rhodians, and the nimbleneſs of their Ships, till at laſt *Caſſius*, who was ſtronger in number, hemmed them in, and rendred that nimbleneſs uſeleſs, ſo being forced to lye ſtill as they fought, they loſt five of their Veſſels, the reſt with much adoe ſaved themſelves, but extremely ſhattered, and *Caſſius* came before *Rhodes*, where he had another Sea Battel, in which the Rhodians being again defeated, *Caſſius* landed with his Troops, and attacked the City on every ſide, notwithſtanding the many Sallies made by the beſieged. He cauſed Towers to be raiſed of Wood near the Walls, from whence they very much incommoded the beſieged, who were forced to demand Compoſition, which while it was in Treaty, the rich Party opened the Gates to *Caſſius*, who entred into the City, where he cauſed a Tribunal to be raiſed, and a Launce planted before him, as it was the Cuſtome of the Roman Generals when ever they had taken a City by force: he forbade his Souldiers upon pain of death to offer at any pillage, he cauſed fifteeen of the moſt obſtinate Citizens to be brought before him, whom

whom he put to death, he condemned five and twenty more, who had made their eſcape, and afterwards Commanded, *That all the Gold and Silver which was either in the Temples, or other publick places, as well as particular Coffers, ſhould within a prefixt time be brought to him.* And to the end that no man might dare to conceal any, the Order ran upon pain of death. He promiſed alſo the tenth part to Perſons that were free, and liberty to all ſuch Slaves as ſhould diſcover any that was hidden. This ſucceeded with him accordingly, and after the puniſhment of three or four who had put their Wealth out of the way, the terrour of death, and fear of Diſcoverers forced all the reſt to bring to light what they had hidden either in Pits, Tombs, or any other places. By this means *Caſſius* got together great ſums of Money at the expence of the City of *Rhodes*, and gave order alſo that thoſe of *Aſia* ſhould advance ten years of thoſe Taxes which they paid to the Romans. He ſent afterwards *Marcus*, one of his Lieutenants, with ſixty Ships to go and plunder *Peloponneſus*, and oppoſe *Cleopatra*, who was ſaid to have put a powerfull Fleet to Sea in favour of *Cæſar* and *Antonius*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Brutus *enters into* Lycia. *He besieges the City* Xanthus.

THE desolation of that famous Grecian City was doubtless the reason why *Plutarch*, who was otherways a very good Historian, has written, *That* Cassius *used this Conquest of* Rhodes *neither with Humanity nor Modesty.* For we cannot look upon the punishment of fifteen Mutineers as any great mark of Inhumanity, and for the Wealth of the Inhabitants it did belong to him by the right of War. But as *Plutarch* was a Grecian, the love of his Countrey has in spight of his Philosophy transported him upon several occasions, so that though his Works be one of the finest pieces that any of the Ancients have left us, we may observe to the same purpose that the most Wise and Learned Men (for those were his Qualities) have not been able sometimes to avoid shewing the marks of humane frailty. *Brutus*, whom that Authour hath so highly praised, proceeded much more cruelly in *Lycia*. The City of *Xanthus* was one of the strongest places in that Province. *Brutus* after some light Rencounters had forced all those who bore Arms to shut themselves up there, and then besieged them. *Lycia* is a Province of the lesser *Asia*, and its name seems to be derived from the word *Lycos*,

which in Greek ſignifies a Wolf, the ſtoutneſs of thoſe People holding much reſemblance with the fierceneſs of that Creature. The River of *Xanthus*, from whence the City had its name, ran through the middle of it, and many ſaved themſelves by night with ſwimming under water through that River, where *Brutus* laid Nets with Bells tied to them, who by the noiſe they made, gave notice when any were plunged into them, the Ditches of the City were very deep, and fifteen paces broad, and the Xanthians from their Walls launced a great many Darts againſt the Romans, who endeavour'd to fill up thoſe Ditches: againſt theſe Darts *Brutus* cauſed Palliſado's to be made, and after having divided his Troops into ſeveral bodies to go and fetch Baskets of earth, he cauſed ſo great a number of them to be brought, that he filled up the Ditch, after which his Souldiers came to blows with thoſe who defended the outworks of the Walls, and drove them into the Town. The Wall being fiercely battered by the Rams, and falling down in ſeveral places, *Brutus* drew off his Men, that he might give the Enemy time to Capitulate, but the Xanthians looking upon this as an effect of fear, made a fierce Sally out of the Town to ſet fire to the Engines, when the Romans turning upon them, charged them ſo home, that thoſe who were at the Gates, were forced to lock them, fearing leſt the Enemy ſhould enter the Town with thoſe who

who fled; ſo all thoſe Xanthians who remained without were cut in pieces, which nevertheleſs hindred not another Sally about Noon, which was performed ſo vigorouſly, that *Brutus*'s Engines were abandoned and burnt. Upon this, ſhame and deſpight made the Romans Rally, and drive back the Enemy again to the Gates, who by reaſon of the former accident were not now locked. The Romans entred Pell-mell with thoſe whom they purſued, when immediately the Portcullis was let down, by which means near two thouſand Roman Souldiers who had gotten entrance, were ſhut up in the City, and being overwhelmed with Darts and Stones, which were thrown at them from the tops of the Ramparts, they Rallied themſelves, and got poſſeſſion of the Temple of *Sarpedon*, who had heretofore been King of *Lycia*, and was ſlain in the Trojan War. The extreme danger theſe People were in, put all *Brutus*'s Army upon finding out a way how they might ſpeedily ſuccour them, the Ladders were burnt, and ſome were for making new ones, but that being an expedient which would take up too much time, they made uſe of the Maſts of Ships to mount by, others faſtened great Nails to a Cord, which they threw up upon the Wall, and when ever the Nail took hold on any place, got up by the Cord. Thus they tried a hundred uſeleſs ways e'er they could find a good one, when a certain people called *Inandes*, who were Neighbours and Enemies

to the Xanthians, and who were in *Brutus*'s Army, contrived to get up by certain Rocks almoſt inacceſſible, which were joined on one ſide to the Walls of the Town; ſeveral Romans followed them, and notwithſtanding the Enemies Darts, which killed them many men, they got upon the top of the Walls, from thence with their hands they helped up their Companions, and by that means got in great numbers upon the Ramparts.

CHAP. XLII.

The taking of Xanthus. *The fury and deſpair of the Xanthians.*

THERE was near this place a Gate ſhut up and faſtened with beams and other things of that nature, thither the Romans, who were upon the Rampart, ran in great haſte, and ſoon found out a way to deſtroy what filled up the Gate; ſo by that means *Brutus*'s Troops entred the Town, making horrible Cries to animate their Companions, and terrify the Enemy, who furiouſly attacked the Temple of *Sarpedon*; but when they perceived that the City was taken, diſperſed themſelves in a moment, and retreated every one to his own Houſe. The Romans ſurprized at this retreat, were more amazed when they ſaw ſeveral places of

of the Town in flames, for theſe Lycians, driven by a fury which was almoſt beyond imagination, reſolved to bury themſelves in the aſhes of their City, either their natural fierceneſs having inſpired them on a ſudden with this deſperate deſign, or having premeditated and reſolved upon it before. The Romans ran immediately to extinguiſh the fire, but thoſe mad people repulſed them with flights of Arrows and other Darts, they cut the Throats of their Wifes, their Children and their Slaves before the Souldiers faces, and afterwards leapt into the middle of the flames; others ran like wild Beaſts upon their Enemies Weapons, the very Children offered their Throats to their Fathers Swords, or elſe threw themſelves down from the tops of the Houſes into the fire, and after the Conflagration was over, a Woman who had hanged her ſelf, was found holding in one hand her Child, whom ſhe had ſtrangled, and in the other a Torch, wherewith ſhe had ſet fire to her Houſe. *Brutus* was not able to ſee this ſad ſpectacle, being ſo touched with it, that he wept, but did all that lay in his power to ſave the ſmall remainders of thoſe miſerable people, by declaring that he would give a reward to every Souldier who ſhould bring him a Xanthian, though all his cares were able to preſerve no more than fifteen, who notwithſtanding complained, *That in ſpight of themſelves their lives were preſerved.* This furious proceeding was it ſeems no new thing to the Inhabitants of

Xanthus, for they had already made uſe of it twice before, the firſt time when *Harpagus*, *Cyrus*'s Lieutenant, attacked them, and afterwards when they were beſieged by *Alexander*. From this City *Brutus* marched againſt *Patarea*, but fearing the ſame deſperate proceeding there which he had found at *Xanthus*, he did not preſs it, onely ſent a Summons to the Inhabitants that they would not force him to deſtroy them, and thoſe Xanthians whom he had preſerved, were by his orders ſent into *Patarea*, to the end that by telling the ſtory of their own miſeries, they might make the others afraid, and ſerve as well for Example as Inſtruction. He alſo ſet at liberty ſeveral Women who had fallen into his hands, and by thoſe mild proceedings was at laſt ſucceſsfull, for the City ſurrendred it ſelf, and *Brutus* according to the example of *Caſſius*, gave out ſevere orders, *That all the gold and ſilver that could be found there ſhould be brought to him*; but that which he did better than *Caſſius* was, that he Condemned a Slave who had given advice of a certain Treaſure that his Maſter had hidden, the Maſters Mother declared, *That it was ſhe who had concealed the Money*, but the Slave without being interrogated, maintained the contrary, and the Maſter ſaid not a word; but *Brutus* conſidering that the inſolence of this Slave proceeded from no other grounds than the hatred which he bore to his Maſter, ſent him to the Gibbet, and reſtored to the Mother and her Son both their Money

ney and their Liberty. Another action of Juſtice got him a great deal of Honour. *Theodotus* was the Man who had the moſt contributed to the death of *Pompey* the Great, by that Harangue which he made at *Ptolemey*'s Council Board. This Man was in *Aſia*, where he ſculk'd about from Town to Town; but *Brutus* cauſed him to be ſeized upon and put to a cruel death, and the puniſhment of this ſpeech-maker was a very welcome thing to all the Princes of that Countrey, who had a great Veneration for the Memory of *Pompey*.

CHAP. LXIII.

Cæsar and Antonius *caused their Troops to pass into* Macedonia. Cassius *joins himself with* Brutus. *Their interview.*

IT was much about this time that *Lentulus*, *Brutus*'s Lieutenant, surprized the Port of *Smyrna*, and drew great Sums of Money out of that City. He went afterwards to find out *Brutus*, who to his own Fleet had joined the Lycian Ships, whom he had intirely Conquered, and sent them to *Abydos* to stay there for *Cassius*, his design was to unite their Forces with those of young *Pompey*, and so act jointly against *Italy*. But *Cæsar* and *Antonius* prevented them, and notwithstanding all the indeavours of *Marcus*, *Cassius*'s Lieutenant, past their Troops into *Macedonia* after this manner; *Cæsar* had caused *Salvidienus* to attack *Pompey*, and while his Land Army was with him at *Rhegium*, fought a great Battel in the straits of *Messina*; *Cæsar*'s Ships being heavy, and not easily to be managed at first suffered very much, but the Valour of those Souldiers who were on board, maintained the Combat till night, and was the Cause that the two Fleets separated with equal advantage, though disabled from any farther service for a long time. During the time of this Battel, *Antonius* had besieged *Marcus* in a Port near *Brundusium*, but that Lieutenant being almost equal to him in

number

number of Ships, he was forced to call *Cæſar*; afterwards *Marcus* retreated and kept the Sea with a deſign to annoy thoſe Veſſels who were to tranſport the Triumvirates Forces, but the Winds broke his Meaſures, and were ſo favourable to the others, both in their going and returning, that not one of them was taken, ſo he went to join *Domitius*, and they made together 130 great Ships, beſides many other light Veſſels which were to be employed for hindring the paſſage of any Proviſions into *Macedonia*, which muſt have reduced the Triumvirate to the utmoſt neceſſity, had *Brutus* and *Caſſius* known how to manage their advantage. Theſe two Generals had joined each other at *Sardis*, where their Souldiers gave them the Title of Emperour, there was at firſt ſome conteſt between them upon their different intereſts, which they were reſolved to regulate when they came face to face. The diſpute grew very warm between them, ſo that they firſt came to moſt ſevere Reproaches, and afterwards to Tears. The diſcourſe was ſo loud, that *Favonius*, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of their Guards, came into the Chamber where they were. *Favonius* was (to ſpeak properly) *Cato*'s Ape, ridiculous as any Imitatour always muſt be, with quickneſs enough indeed, but little or no judgment. In ſhort, the moſt famous giddy brain pretender to Vertue and Philoſophy, which was in that time, his Sect (we may well imagine) was that of the *Cynicks*, he entred the Chamber

ber with a very grave air, pronouncing aloud a Verse of *Homer*, which signifies, *Believe me, for I am older than ye both.* *Cassius* fell a laughing, but *Brutus* drove him out again, calling him, *a Dog and a Counterfeit Philosopher.* In the mean while the Dispute ended, and they went and supped together, where *Favonius* was admitted to play the fool for the Company.

CHAP. XLIV.

Brutus *sees a Ghost.* Cassius *satisfies him by his Reasons.*

THERE happened several other Disputes between them, wherein *Brutus* evermore preserved the steadiness of his Character, but as they are wide from the purpose, we shall onely recount here that famous Story of a Ghost or Spectre which appeared to him in this place. *Brutus* was very sober, and slept but little, especially in time of War, he onely lay down for a short while after Supper, and for the rest of the night he was wont to employ one third for the dispatch of his Affairs, another in Reading, and the last in giving Orders. According to this Custome he was in his Tent very busie upon some thought which wholly took up his mind, there was a general silence through all the Camp, and especially round his

his Tent, when of a ſudden he heard a noiſe at the door, which at the ſame time opened of its own accord, he caſt his Eye towards the place, and perceived the frightfull figure of a hideous Spectre, of a proportion much more than natural, which preſented it ſelf before him, he had nevertheleſs the Courage to ſpeak to it, demanding, *If it were a God or a Man, and for what reaſon it came thither? I am*, ſaid the Ghoſt, *thy Evil Genius*, Brutus, *thou ſhalt ſee me again near* Philippi. *Brutus* without being terrified, anſwered again, *Well, I will ſee thee*, ſo it diſappeared, and *Brutus* called up his Slaves, who all told him, *That they had neither ſeen nor heard any thing.* He continued waking all the reſt of the night, and as ſoon as it was day, went to give an account of what had happened to *Caſſius*, who as to his Philoſophy was an Epicurean, he attributed all the Viſion merely to the weakneſs of the ſenſes, and the force of imagination, which eaſily turns them towards all ſorts of Idea's. This he maintained by the example of Dreams, where the fancy forming different Images, agitates the Organs of the Body after the ſame manner as they would be by outward objects. *This is that*, ſaid he, *to* Brutus, *which hath happened to you, your ſenſes being tired with fatiguing and watching, have been eaſily impoſed upon by the imagination. As for the reſt, that there are any ſuch ſort of Spirits here, and that they have voice, or humane ſhape, or any power over us, let us never believe it, though I could*

could earnestly wish it were so, to the end that we might not onely rely upon those many Forces, Arms and Ships which we have now attending on us, but also upon the assistence of those immortal Beings who could not but be favourable to designs so Sacred and Just as ours are. This discourse satisfied *Brutus*, and he had afterwards an Omen which absolutely assured him, two Eagles came to settle upon the foremost rank of the Souldiers that marched in Battalia, and followed them till the evening before the Battel of *Philippi*. This is a City lying between *Macedonia* and *Thracia*, near the narrow passages of *Salapia* and *Torpida*, through which those who go out of *Asia* into *Europe* must of necessity pass. *Norbanus*, and *Decidius Saxa*, *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants, had taken possession of those passages with very strong Forces, so *Brutus* and *Cassius* following the advice of *Rhascupolis* King of *Thrace*, resolved to take a long compass round by *Lysimachia*, and arrived at the black Golph, called at present *Charidia*, where they came ashore. From thence they marched upon two Lines, which took up the whole Land from the Sea up as far as * *Enis*, and put one Legion on Board their Ships under the Command of *Cymber* one of the Conspiratours, by that means to give some jealousie to *Norbanus*, and force him to quit those passages before the arrival of *Cæsar* and *Antonius*, who were now marching with all speed to his relief.

* *A City of* Thrace.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLV.

The Forces of Caſſius *and* Brutus. *Thoſe of* Antonius *and* Cæſar. Caſſius *ſpeaks to his Souldiers.*

IT was not without a great deal of terrour that every body ſtood expecting the ſucceſs of theſe two powerfull Armies, who were to decide the fortune of the Roman Empire. The Conſpiratours Forces conſiſted of nineteen Legions, which made in all 24 thouſand Foot, and 20000 Horſe. The Triumviri's Legions were but nineteen, for they had been forc't to leave Troops in *Italy* to make head againſt young *Pompey*. Theſe Legions were better completed than the Conſpiratours were, by which means they were ſtronger in their Infantry, which conſiſted of 100000 Men, but they had onely thirteen thouſand Horſe. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* reſolved at this time to take a general review, and ſpeak to their Souldiers. Theſe ſort of Actions were of great Reputation amongſt the Romans, being always mingled with Religion, they prepared a Magnificent Tribunal for their General Officers, and before the Tribunal an Altar, the Sacrificers in view of all the Army offered up three ſorts of * Victims which they divided into two parts, and theſe two parts they ranged on each ſide of the way which lead to the Altar. All the Officers and Souldiers of the Army

* *A Sow, a Sheep, and a Bull.*

Army marched one after another between those pieces of the Sacrifices which were thus ranged, and went to the Altar to take the Oath. This they called * purifying of the Army, and it was in this manner that *Brutus* and *Cassius* proceeded. They appeared upon the Tribunal, having upon their right Hand the Magistrates and Roman Senatours, and on their left those Princes who Commanded Foreign Troops. The Souldiers were all splendidly attired, and adorned with the spoils of *Asia*. This was one of *Brutus*'s Maximes, who was of Opinion, *That the richness of their Habits and their Arms would make an addition of Courage to the Souldiers*; *because*, said he, *those who have them, will fight out of Covetousness to preserve them, and those who are Ambitious, for the honour of them.* When the Sacrifice was over, *Cassius*, who was the elder Man, took upon him to speak, and represented to the Souldiers, *That as both the Souldiers and Officers had in this War but one common Interest, it was just that every one should reciprocally take such security as Generals always ought to have in their Troops, and the Troops in their Generals*; *That the foundation of that trust might be reasonably laid upon the assistence of so many Noble Romans, Foreign Princes, and Gallant Souldiers, upon the abundance of Money and Provisions which yet their Enemies wanted, upon their Naval Forces, they being every where Masters at Sea.* And in short, upon the Justice of their Arms, *That they were not liable to any reproach except for the death of* Julius Cæsar, who

* *Lustrare exercitum.*

who had deprived the Romans of all their Rights, and the liberty of chooſing Magiſtrates, and who had eſtabliſhed Tyranny in their City; That all the Senate had conſented to that action, though onely a ſmall number of them put it in execution. He inlarged himſelf very much upon this Point, and afterwards proceeded to the Cruelty of the Triumvirate. At laſt he concluded with aſſuring them, *That* 2500 *Drachma's ſhould be immediately given to the Souldiers,* 5000 *to the Captains, and double the ſum to the Colonels.* The Souldiers were extremely rejoyced to hear theſe words, but much more when they ſaw the Money, they thanked their Generals, and after having beſtowed ſufficient Praiſes upon them, prepared to march with a great deal of chearfulneſs. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* made alſo conſiderable Preſents to the chief Officers and Commanders of the Foreign Troops, ſo that the whole Army being very well ſatisfied, advanced towards the Plain of *Orica*, to the foot of the Mountain, where are thoſe narrow paſſages which I have before made mention of.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVI.

The two Armies draw near each other. A description of the City of Philippi *and its outworks.*

UPON the news of this, *Norbanus* sent word to *Decidius* to come and join him, and when they were together, they fortified themselves so well in the narrow passages, that there was no possibility of any ways annoying them. *Brutus* being very much confounded, consulted with *Rhascupolis*, who was perfectly acquainted with all that Countrey, and that Prince told him, *That there was another passage over those rough Mountains, but that it would take them up three days march, and moreover they must want water, but that if they would carry it with them, he would undertake to conduct the Troops by the fourth day to the River of* Arpessa, *which was but one days march from the City of* Philippi, *and by a way where the very Birds themselves should never see them, because of the height of the Trees which covered those narrow passages.* The Souldiers being well incouraged, resolved to pass through that place, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ways, every one provided himself with Water, and *Bibulus* led the Vanguard with *Rhascupolis*. The Troops suffered great hardship in this march, and began also to want Water, so they were already for accusing the King of Treason, when their Scouts

Scouts diſcovered the River, they immediately ſignified their joy to the Army with great Cries, to which all the Troops anſwered, and the two Generals who were in their Rere-guard, doubled their ſpeed. *Rhaſcupolis*'s Brother, whoſe Name was *Rhaſcus*, ſerved at this time under *Cæſar*. They had thus divided themſelves, to the end that one of them might partake of the good Fortune of the Conquerours for the preſervation of their Eſtates. By theſe great Cries *Rhaſcus* knew that the Enemies were paſſed, and was much ſurprized that ſo great an Army ſhould get through ſuch rough places, where even the Wild-beaſts found many difficulties, he gave notice thereof to *Norbanus*, who was afterwards forced to quit his Poſt, and retreat with *Decidius* to *Amphipolis*. *Brutus* by this means got poſſeſſion of the City of *Philippi*, and *Cymber* being arrived with his Fleet near the place, they fortified themſelves there. The City of *Philippi*, which was heretofore called *Datos*, took this new name from *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who fortified it. It is built upon a little Hill, where are abundance of Springs, having other woody Hills towards the North, towards the South a Marſh, which goes as far as the Sea, towards the Eaſt the ſtraits of *Salapea* and *Torpida*, and towards the Weſt a Plain which reaches as far as the River *Strymon*. This Plain was full of very pleaſant Meadows, and near enough to the City ſtood a little

Eminence where *Brutus* encamped himself. *Cassius* went and took possession of an advanced ground about a League and a half from him, and they drew lines of Communication from one Camp to the other. This was (as I said) the onely place through which there lay a passage out of *Asia* into *Europe*. They had before them the Plain, through which there ran a little River called *Ganga*, upon their left hand was the River *Strymon*, and the Marsh, the inaccessible narrow passages upon their right, and behind them the Sea, by which they could furnish themselves with all sort of Conveniences out of the Cities of * *Thasos* and † *Neapoli*, where they had setled their Provisions.

* *An Island near* Thrace.

† *A City of* Thrace.

CHAP. XLVII.

The two Armies retrench themselves. Their different movements, and some skirmishes. The uneasiness of Cassius.

THE danger which *Norbanus* was in, caused *Antonius* to make such extraordinary haste, that even *Brutus* himself was surprized at it. The occasion of this quick dispatch was the City of *Amphipolis*, where the Triumviri designed to place their Magazines, and *Antonius*, when he understood that *Norbanus* was retreated thither, was very much rejoyced at it; he left a Legion there under the Command of *Pinarius*, and then went and posted

poſted himſelf boldly in the ſight of the Conſpiratours, they had very much the advantage of him by the ſituation of their Camp, Wood, the Water of the River, and abundance of Proviſions. *Antonius* on the contrary had no Water but what he drew out of Pits, which he had cauſed to be digged on purpoſe, and his Wood from the Marſh, his Proviſions came to him very far, and were alſo very ſcarce. In the mean time his boldneſs amazed the Enemies Army, and forced the Generals to make new Works, wherewith *Caſſius* filled up all the ground which lay between his Camp and the Marſh, by which means the whole front of their Camp was well fortified, and their flanks covered, *Brutus*'s by the declining of the hill, and *Caſſius*'s by the Marſh and Sea. Theſe Works produced dayly ſome skirmiſh or other between the Cavalry that guarded the Pioneers, wherein the Conſpiratours Party had generally the advantage. At laſt *Cæſar*, who had lain ſick at *Dyrrachium*, came to the Army, and his Troops in Teſtimony of their joy drew out of their Camp in Battalia. *Brutus* puffed up with the good ſucceſs which his Cavalry had had in little skirmiſhes, or, as he himſelf ſaid, impatient to put an end to the miſeries of Mankind by a glorious Victory, or a noble Death, drew up his Troops alſo, but *Caſſius* perſuaded him to ſtay in his Trenches. It is but a vain thing to flatter our ſelves with that reſolution which we pretend to be furniſhed withall

from Reason and Philosophy, for it evermore abandons us when we have most need of it, and two Presages were able to overthrow all *Cassius*'s Epicurean Principles, and which is a greater discovery of humane frailty, those Presages which appeared so dreadfull to him, would seem but very ridiculous to a great many Men. One of his Officers presented him a wreath of flowers which he was to wear when he sacrificed, with the inside outward. And he who as the Custome was, carried a golden figure of Victory at the head of *Cassius*'s Ensigns, stumbled with the Image, and fell upon his Nose. There were moreover Crows and other Birds of that kind, seen flying about the Camp, a swarm of Bees was found there too, which a Man would think should be no very surprizing thing near Woods and Meadows. Nevertheless, these Remarks which a man of common sense would now despise, were at that time so very considerable, that they utterly confounded the mind of *Cassius*, and infected his whole Army with the same frailty, which occasioned the loss of that Battel upon which the fate of the Roman Empire depended.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Antonius *poſſeſſes himſelf of a Poſt behind the Enemies Camp.* Brutus *reſolves to fight contrary to the Opinion of* Caſſius.

ANTONIUS very well underſtood the reaſon why the Conſpiratours avoided fighting, he knew that *Aſia* being behind them, furniſhed them with Proviſions in abundance, whilſt *Ægypt*, haraſſed with Famine, could afford none to the Forces of the Triumvirate; that *Pompey* would hinder them from fetching any out of *Spain*, and that *Marcus* and *Domitius* defended the paſſage into *Italy*, ſo that their onely recourſe was to *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, which muſt be ſoon exhauſted. *Caſſius* alſo repreſented the ſame thing dayly to *Brutus* and his Officers; but at laſt the Courage of *Antonius* overcame all thoſe difficulties, he was drawn up againſt *Caſſius*, as *Brutus* was againſt *Cæſar*, and indeavoured to get poſſeſſion of a Poſt, which was on the other ſide of the Marſh behind *Caſſius*'s Camp. He gave orders for the throwing of Earth upon the Reeds, and upon this Earth ſpread Stones; and this kind of Cauſway he cauſed to be ſupported by pieces of Wood driven croſs-ways into the Marſh, and where the Water was too high made Bridges: *Antonius* every day covered this Work with Skirmiſhes, and as it was ſecretly carried

on a-croſs the Reeds, the Enemies could perceive nothing but the Towers and Fortifications which they ſaw upon that Poſt which lay on the other ſide of the Marſh, *Caſſius* admired the work, and *Antonius*'s boldneſs, and that he might in nothing give place to him, extended his Lines along the Marſh as far as the Sea, and by that proceeding meeting with *Antonius*'s Cauſway, cut it off, by which means thoſe of the Triumviri's Forces, who were already gotten on the other ſide of the Marſh, became very much expoſed. It was not doubted in the Conſpiratours Camp, but that *Antonius* would doe all that in him lay to diſingage his Troops. The onely queſtion was how they ſhould receive him, whether out of their Lines in Battalia, or onely by defending their Lines. *Brutus* carried the diſpute for a general Battel, chiefly, becauſe ſome of the Souldiers had already deſerted. This reaſon prevailed alſo with all the reſt of the Officers, except *Atellius*, who ſtill inſiſted for ſtaying till Winter was over, *Brutus* asked him, *What advantage he hoped for from ſuch a prolongation*; *what*, ſaid he, *to live a year longer.* This anſwer added to the diſorder of *Caſſius*, who heard it, and who after the Council broke up, went to Supper with *Meſſala*. This *Meſſala* was a young Man of Noble birth, who had a great deal of Wit, and was very learned for a Man of Quality, he became afterwards as I have already obſerved, in great favour with *Auguſtus*, and had

the

the Command of the beſt and braveſt Legion of that Army. *Caſſius* was ſad and thoughtfull all the Supper time, though he was naturally very gay, and as he roſe from the Table, taking *Meſſala* by the hand, *Meſſala*, ſaid he, *you muſt bear me witneſs that I am forc't in the ſame manner as* Pompey *once was, to expoſe the liberty of the Roman People to the hazard of a Battel; nevertheleſs we ought to hope well from fortune, but we have taken ill Counſel.* So he retired, after having invited *Meſſala* to Supper with him the next night, the morrow being his birth-day.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Battel of Philippi. Brutus *overthrows* Cæſar's *Troops.* Caſſius *being defeated by* Antonius, *in deſpair kills himſelf.*

AT break of day there appeared the Coat Armour of Purple upon the two Generals Tents, which amongſt the Romans was the ſignal of Battel, ſo whilſt that the Troops were putting themſelves in a readineſs, *Caſſius* was deſirous to know *Brutus*'s opinion of what they ought to doe in caſe matters ſhould miſcarry. *Brutus* ſaid, *That he had heretofore in his Writings condemned the death of* Cato, *and maintained* (what was indeed very true) *that that manner of avoiding ſuch diſgraces as Providence ſends upon us, was a horrible attempt againſt the power of Heaven, and*

wicked in the eyes of men; but that he had now altered his opinion, since being no longer Master of one life, which he had sacrificed to his Countrey upon the Ides of March, *he was resolved to change it for a happier if Fortune proved his Enemy.* *Cassius* imbraced him, and smiling, told him, *Now we may go on upon the Enemy, for either we will be Conquerours our selves, or we will have no cause to fear those that are so.* This was doubtless a sure method for the preventing any farther fear, but it is very apparent by this discourse, that for this resolution they were more beholding to their frailty, than to that greatness of Soul whereon they so much valued themselves, for it was neither this Opinion, nor *Cæsar*'s death that deserves those Heroick Titles which *Cicero* in his Epistles hath given them. They afterwards appointed their order of Battel, *Brutus* had the right Wing with *Messala*, and *Cassius* the left. The Triumviri's Army was already drawn up, *Antonius* onely Commanded, because *Cæsar* was sick, whose Troops had the left Wing, and *Antonius*'s the right. At last about Noon he marched against *Cassius* with the party that he headed. The inequality of the ground forced his Legions upon such a motion, that *Brutus*'s Troops believed they were coming against them, so that without expecting the Word or the Commands of their General, they advanced to receive them. *Antonius* avoided the ingaging, by a motion which he made to the right to go against *Cassius*. He lost some Souldiers there,

there, and muſt have been fallen upon in the flank, if *Caſar*'s Army had not advanced. *Brutus*'s Souldiers marched without order, but with ſo much heat, that at the firſt onſet they overthrew all that oppoſed them. *Meſſala* followed by three Legions, puſhed even into *Caſar*'s Camp, who had juſt left it, and was retreated very ſick to *Antonius*'s. They found his Litter, which they pierced ſeveral times through and through, ſo that a report began to be ſpread about that he was ſlain. He has ſince written, *That one of his Friends called* * Artorius, *perſuaded him to this retreat upon the occaſion of a dream.* The ſlaughter was great in *Caſar*'s Camp, and there fell in it 2000 Lacedemonians who fought on his ſide. Three of his Legions were alſo cut to pieces upon the ſpot, and *Brutus* muſt have obtained an intire Victory, could he poſſibly have governed the fury of his Souldiers, who would needs engage themſelves too far. *Antonius* knew well how to make his advantage of this Errour, and without changing, went directly upon *Caſſius*, who expected him in Battalia upon the advanced ground, the Combat was very rough, and after ſeveral takings and re-takings of each other, they fell together Pell-mell with their Swords in their hands. In the mean time a Party of *Antonius*'s Souldiers opened a paſſage through the Lines, at the bottom of the Marſh, and when they came up, charging *Caſſius*'s Troops upon the flank, overthrew them with great ſlaughter. *Antonius* Commanded

* *This was a Phyſician.*

manded four Legions to purſue the Victory over the Marſh, haſtening the others to *Caſſius*'s Camp, which was very ill guarded, by reaſon that all the Souldiers were come forth to the Battel, he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of it, which raiſed ſo great a conſternation in the reſt of the Army, that they immediately diſperſed themſelves. *Caſſius* did upon this occaſion all that could be expected from a man of Courage, he returned ſeveral times to the charge, and took himſelf the Eagle out of an Enſigns hand, who was running away, and held it a long time before him, but he forgot the duty of a General, when he ſo long tamely expected *Antonius*, whom he ought to have charged at the ſame time that *Brutus* went on. At laſt his Guards forſaking him, he was forced to retreat up to an advanced ground near the City of *Philippi*. He had loſt eight thouſand Men, reckoning the Sutlers that were killed in his Camp. But there were once as many ſlain on *Ceſar*'s ſide, from whom there were taken three Eagles, and ſeveral other Colours, by which *Brutus* believing he had gotten an intire Victory, led back his Troops loaden with pillage to his Camp, when obſerving that in *Caſſius*'s Camp the Tents were thrown down, and perceiving by the number, and the Arms of thoſe Souldiers who were within, that they were Enemies, he immediately detached a body of Cavalry to haſten to the relief of his Friend, though by misfortune that relief did but add ſpeed to his ruine.

Caſſius

Caſſius was ſhort ſighted, and beſides, the duſt which the fight had raiſed all over the Field, hindred him from diſtinguiſhing *Brutus*'s Troops. Nevertheleſs he ſaw confuſedly ſome Cavalry marching, and ſent *Titinius*, one of his Friends to diſcover what they were. He was received with great cries of joy by *Brutus*'s Cavalry, who embracing him, asked him, *What news of his General.* *Caſſius* perceiving this from the place where he was, and believing that thoſe men who ran to embrace *Titinius*, had taken him Priſoner, *Alas*, ſaid he, *to preſerve the remainder of a miſerable life, I have expoſed my beſt friend to be taken.* At theſe words he went into a Tent with the Gentleman of his Horſe, whoſe name was *Pindarus*; we have no very good account of what paſſed there; but *Caſſius* was found dead of a wound in his Neck, and *Pindarus* never appeared afterwards. *Titinius* arrived within a moment with the Cavalry, and all rejoycing, but their joy was ſoon turned into a ſad affliction, and *Titinius* after having accuſed himſelf of folly and lazineſs, ſlew himſelf upon the body of his Friend.

CHAP.

CHAP. L.

Brutus's *Melancholy. His Fleet defeats that of* Cæſar *and* Antonius, *and* Brutus *knows not of it. He ſpeaks to his Troops to confirm them.*

BRUTUS was extremely ſorrowfull for the death of his Companion, whom he called the laſt of the Romans, and cauſing his body privately to be removed, ſent it to *Thaſos*, to pay him the laſt Offices of Funeral. In the mean time he told his Friends, *That he thought him very happy in that he was now beyond the reach of thoſe misfortunes which remained yet for them to ſuffer.* In effect, his death utterly diſcompoſed the whole affairs of the Conſpiratours, and it will not be improper to ſay that *Caſſius* killed himſelf in deſpight of his good Fortune. Several have reported that he knew of *Brutus*'s Victory, and that the ſame day whereon they fought at *Philippi*, they overthrew *Cæſar*'s Fleet, which was carrying Proviſions to the Triumviri, together with a ſtrong relief, conſiſting of two Legions, and *Cæſar*'s Company of Guards. *Marcus* and *Domitius* had performed this good ſervice againſt another *Domitius* ſirnamed *Calvinus*, who in this fight either by the Sword or by fire, loſt the beſt of his Souldiers, and almoſt all his Ships. This defeat muſt have ruined the Triumviri beyond all hopes of recovery, had *Brutus* but been informed of it, but the negligence

or

or malice of ſome of his Officers hindred the giving him any account of the matter, and his own vexation and impatience haſtened on his ruine, or to ſpeak more properly, the Divine Providence did it, which now ſeemed reſolved to put an end to the Civil Wars, by appointing a Maſter over the Roman Empire. The next day after the fight, *Brutus* called together the Souldiers of both Armies; where after having praiſed the Valour of his own men, and the Victory they had gotten, he exhorted them, *To ſhew once more how obedient they could be, and obſerve their Generals better than they had done before.* He gave them to underſtand the neceſſities the Enemies were reduced to, *And that that was the onely cauſe of their boldneſs and courage, ſince they would never have ſought to have fallen in Battel, had they not been afraid of being ſtarv'd by Famine.* He cauſed alſo 1000 Drachma's to be given to every Souldier, with a promiſe, *That after the Victory, they ſhould have the liberty of plundering the two Cities of* Lacedemon *and* Theſſalonica, by which, in the judgment even of thoſe Authours who have appeared moſt zealous for his memory, he ſtrayed very wide of thoſe ſentiments of humanity and moderation which he had all his life time affected. *Antonius* alſo having occaſion to ſpeak to his men, made a good uſe of the death of *Caſſius*, *It is*, ſaid he, *an unanſwerable proof that our Enemies are defeated, they can never dare to diſpute the Victory with us, ſince the braveſt and moſt able of their Generals*

has

has been driven to so desperate a proceeding; but it is our business to force them themselves to this Confession, and offer them Battel. If they shall be so faint-hearted as to refuse it, ye shall see that they will acknowledge themselves Conquered. He did not moreover forget to speak of Rewards, and promised 5000 Drachma's to every Souldier, after which he marched his Troops in Battalia, till they came in sight of *Brutus*'s Lines, who did not draw out, so that though *Antonius* were himself at the point of despair, he omitted not to make his Souldiers sensible how fearfull their Enemies were, and dayly to indeavour the bringing of them to a Battel. *Brutus* had moreover other troubles in his Camp, *Cassius*'s Troops would hardly obey him, and the shame of their having been beaten, began to make them Mutinous, this forc't him to rid himself of what Prisoners he had taken, so the Romans he set at liberty, and put the Slaves to the Sword. At last *Antonius* and *Cæsar*, (who now began to be fit for action) being pressed by the ill condition that their Troops were in, who by the Rains and the Frost that followed, suffered extremely in those deep places, where they were encamped, made an attempt, which succeeded to their wishes, and decided the matter.

CHAP.

CHAP. LI.

Brutus *utterly defeated by* Antonius *and* Cæſar.

BRUTUS had ſince the laſt Battel quitted an advanced ground, which was within the compaſs of *Caſſius*'s Camp, *Cæſar* immediately took poſſeſſion of that Poſt with two of his Legions, who fortified themſelves there. Afterwards he ſent ten other Legions about a quarter of a League from thence towards the Sea, with a deſign to cut off any Proviſions from coming to the Conſpiratours. *Brutus* on his part cauſed divers Works to be carried on, by which means they were ſeveral days diſputing for the ground foot to foot by their Works. At laſt, *Brutus*'s Souldiers mutined, they got together in Troops up and down the Field, and demanded, *What Cowardlineſs their General had lately obſerved in them, that he could ſuffer the Enemy dayly to come and brave them with ſafety, that he would give them leave to make uſe of thoſe Arms, and that Courage which their Enemies had been ſo often made ſenſible of.* *Brutus* for ſome time diſſembled his reſentment, and afterwards fearing leſt they ſhould forſake him, which he began already to have ſtrong ſuſpicions of, he all of a ſudden gave way to the impatience of his People, and reſolved to put an end to his as well as the Romans inquietudes, by the fortune of Arms. It is reported that the Spectre which had appeared

peared to him, came to him again the night before this great Battel, but that it onely appeared without ſaying any thing. That the Eagle which belonged to his firſt Legion, was covered with Bees, and that a certain ſweat in the nature of Oil, which had the perfume of Roſes, came from the Arme of one of his Captains in ſuch quantity, that it wet ſeveral handkerchiefs. The Authours of thoſe times alſo report, that the firſt man whom *Brutus*'s Troops met withall as they drew out of their Camp, was a Negro, whom they cut to pieces with their Swords. The Souldiers of both parties were encouraged from different reaſons, thoſe of the Triumviri ſaw that they muſt either Conquer or die with Famine. And *Brutus*'s men were reſolved to maintain the honour of their firſt Victory, and that boldneſs wherewith they had demanded Battel contrary to the Opinion of their General. *Brutus* was in the foremoſt rank very well mounted, *Fellow Souldiers* (ſaid he to his People) *ye have deſired to fight contrary to my Opinion, when the miſeries which our Enemies were reduced to, might have aſſured us the Victory without any hazard, but that did not appear honourable enough for you, ye are for buying glory at the price of your blood, and now it lies upon you to complete the buſineſs, and not to deceive that truſt which I have repoſed in your Valour.* On the other ſide *Cæſar* and *Antonius* ſaid to their Souldiers, *Thus ye ſee now our Enemies in a place where we have a long time wiſhed them, they*

are

are now no longer covered with those Fortifications which made them so bold before, so that their destiny is in your own hands, though ye have but one thing to chuse, which is to overcome, or perish by the most miserable of deaths, which is that of Famine. After this the two Armies advanced within the reach of their Darts, when in the very moment appeared two Eagles in the Air, who began a cruel fight together, and drew the admiration of all the Troops, that which was on *Brutus*'s side was beaten, and fled away, which so animated the Souldiers of the *Triumviri*, that they gave a great shout, and marched on with fury, they lanced their Javelins as it had been onely for fashion sake, and the Legions came immediately hand to hand. The fight was long and bloudy, the right Wing, which *Brutus* led, drove back that of *Antonius*, but at the same time his left recoiled before *Cæsar*'s Legions. There was afterwards no more giving of ground, and what was won was won by force of Arms, like a heavy Engine that can hardly be removed. At last *Cæsar*'s Cavalry having repulsed those of *Cassius*, who behaved themselves very ill, gained the flank of the Conspiratour's left Wing; the fear of being hemmed in made them open their Battalions to the right and left, that they might make head every way. *Cæsar*'s Men charged into intervals and broke them to pieces, then that Line gave way, and turning upon the second, produced nothing

but fear and diſorder, a proceeding contrary to what had been uſed in the firſt Battel, cauſed at this time the loſs of *Brutus*; for thoſe Troops terrified and preſt hard by *Cæſar*, came tumbling upon the Wing which *Brutus* commanded, and notwithſtanding all that he could doe to rally them broke it in pieces. *Cato*'s Son, who commanded under him, ſeeing that all muſt now inevitably be loſt, ran into the thickeſt of the Enemy's Battalions, and uttring aloud his own Name and his Father's, was there ſlain. *Cæſar* and *Antonius* neglected none of their advantages, and on every ſide charged thoſe Troops which were in diſorder. *Antonius* took care to follow the victory, and *Cæſar* not being able to doe it, commanded *Norbanus* to go to the Enemy's Camp, where a great ſlaughter was made of thoſe who confuſedly were retreating. Almoſt all *Brutus*'s beſt Officers periſhed in this fight, by endeavouring to ſave the perſon of their General. A body of Thracian Cavalry, commanded by *Rhaſtus*, perſued him very hard, and muſt have taken him had it not been for *Lucilius*, who was his beſt friend. This Man charged the Thracians and ſtopped them, till ſeeing himſelf encompaſſed round, he cried out that he was *Brutus*, and demanded Quarter, deſiring that they would carry him to *Antonius*. Theſe Cavaliers, tranſported with their good fortune, ſent word of it to *Antonius*, and brought him their Priſoner: He

He notwithſtanding all his hatred could not but be concerned at this adventure, which coſt him many reflexions. He was extremely confounded to think how he ought to behave himſelf to thoſe that brought him the news, and who appeared before him with different opinions of the matter, when *Lucilius* ſhewing himſelf in the midſt of thoſe who conducted him; *No Man* (ſaid he to *Antonius*) *ſhall ever have the honour to take* Brutus *alive, nor will the Gods permit that Fortune ſhall have ſuch advantage over his Vertue, but he will always be found, whether dead or living, in a condition that becomes his Courage. I have here delivered my ſelf up to ſave him, I am now in your hands, and you may diſpoſe of my life juſt as you pleaſe.* *Antonius* could not but admire the vertue of the Man, and told the Thracians, that *they were much happier than they believed they were, ſince in ſtead of the enemy whom they thought they had brought him, they had made him a preſent of a friend.* Indeed *Lucilius* was afterwards one of his firſt friends, and to the day of his death diſcharged himſelf with an inviolable fidelity.

CHAP. LII.

Brutus's *laſt Words and Death.* Meſſala *goes over to* Cæſar *with all his Forces.*

THIS contrivance of *Lucilius* and the night together gave *Brutus* time to paſs over a little River, and make his retreat up to an advanced ground which was hard by. *There* (lifting up his eyes to Heaven) * *unhappy Vertue*, ſaid he, *I follow thee as a ſolid good, but thou art onely a thing merely talked of, a vain empty name, or at beſt a ſlave of fortune.* He afterwards repeated ſeveral times another Greek Verſe which ſignifies, *Puniſh, great* Jove, *the authour of theſe evils*, by which it was thought he deſigned *Antonius*, who afterwards remembred it when he was driven to that extremity by *Cæſar* after the Battel of *Actium*. Afterwards, with abundance of praiſes as well as ſighs, he repeated the names of all thoſe of his friends whom he had ſeen periſh upon that occaſion. One of thoſe who was ſtill with him complained that he was thirſty, and the Souldiers running to the River fetched water in their Helmets and brought it. *Volumnius* a noble Senatour, who had been gone out to diſcover what might be the reaſon of a certain noiſe which they had then heard, returned at this time, and asking if there were any water, *We have all drank*, (ſaid *Brutus* to him ſmiling) but

do

do not you be troubled, for the ſpring is not far off, ſo the Souldiers returned to the River, but had much adoe to get back again, and were ſeveral of them wounded, which gave *Brutus* to underſtand that he was inveſted; then he exhorted thoſe that were with him to make ſome attempt to get to their Camp, which yet held out; but they had loſt all their courage, and told him that *he would doe better to think of ſaving himſelf. I know very well* (anſwered he) *that I ought to doe it, but it is with my hands and not with my feet.* Then *Statilius*, one of his Officers, offered to go by himſelf to the Camp, and that if it were not taken, to advance a lighted Flambeau in the air for a ſignal. The Flambeau appeared, which gave ſome hopes to *Brutus*, ſo he expected a long time, ſaying, Statilius *would come if he were alive.* But he was ſlain in his return by ſome Souldiers belonging to one of thoſe *Corps du guard* which the Triumviri had every where poſted. At laſt *Brutus*, wearied with expectation, and ſeeing that the day approached, whiſpered ſomething in the ear of one of his Domeſticks, whoſe name was *Clitus*, and who anſwered him nothing, but fell aweeping, which made *Brutus* call *Dardanus*, who ſerved him as General of his Horſe, to him alſo he ſaid ſomething and addreſſed himſelf afterwards to *Volumnius*, who has written all theſe particulars. But ſeeing they onely anſwered him with their tears, he raiſed himſelf up and made them

a ſhort diſcourſe to thank them for that fidelity wherewith they had ſo generouſly and to the laſt extremity followed his fortune. He ſaid *he lookt upon himſelf much happier than any of his Conquerours, ſince he ſhould enjoy that reputation which always follows Vertue, and which Tyranny and Injuſtice can never deſerve.* He conjured his friends to think of preſerving their lives, ſince he hoped that *Cæſar* and *Antonius* being ſatisfied with his death, would not perſue their cruelty any farther. He afterwards went aſide ſome few paces with a certain Greek, whoſe name was *Strato*, a very learned Rhetorician, and for that reaſon by him highly eſteemed, he begged of this man, by that ſtrict League that was made between them, to doe that office for him which thoſe other friends had refuſed, and ſeeing that he could not reſolve upon it, he called for a ſlave. *Ah!* (then ſaid *Strato*) *it ſhall never be ſaid that* Brutus *in his laſt extremity ſtood in need of the aſſiſtence of a ſlave for want of a friend,* ſo turning away his head, he preſented the point of his Sword to *Brutus*, who threw himſelf upon it with ſuch violence that it pierced him through, and he died immediately. Thus did this Man, born with ſo great advantages and qualified ſo well, by a tragical end pay for that horrible ingratitude wherewith he had dyed his hands in the bloud of a Man to whom he ſtood indebted for the higheſt favours. It is a crime which can never be waſhed off from his memory

The year of the World 4012. *ſince the building of* Rome 712. *before the birth of our Saviour* 41.

mory, no not by all the Vertue which he ſo ill employed, both in that action and at his death. Several have reported circumſtances otherwiſe, but all agree in this, that *Meſſala* a long time afterwards preſenting *Strato* to *Auguſtus* ſaid, *See here*, Cæſar, *the Man who paid the laſt offices to my* Brutus, and that *Auguſtus* extremely cheriſhed *Strato*, who afterwards ſerved him very faithfully. *Antonius* hearing the next day of *Brutus's* death, went to the place where the Body ſtill lay, and covered it himſelf with a rich Coat of Armour which he wore, and when news was brought him afterwards that ſome body had ſtripped him, he cauſed the Thief to be taken and put to death. The Body was burnt by his orders, and the aſhes ſent to *Servilia*, *Brutus's* Wife, whoſe name was *Porcia*, and was *Cato* of *Utica's* Daughter, ſo that having ſuch a Father, and ſuch a Husband, we may eaſily imagine what were the maxims of that Vertue which ſhe ſo openly made profeſſion of; and ſhe was reſolved to give proofs of it by a death by which ſhe out-did the fury of thoſe two Men whom ſhe moſt tenderly loved. And though ſince the death of her Husband ſhe was ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that it was impoſſible for her either to make uſe of Poiſon or Dagger, ſhe ſwallowed ſo many hot Coals and Aſhes that ſhe choaked her ſelf. Though, to ſpeak the truth of the matter, there is a great deal of reaſon to believe that this kind of death was rather invented

by the Wits, who were desirous to report that tragical adventure in all its circumstances, and make, as they have done, a Subject for a good * Epigram; since *Plutarch* assures us that he had seen some of *Brutus*'s Letters, wherein he complains of his friends at *Rome* for suffering *Porcia* to die of Melancholy. *Brutus*'s Friends and his Officers took different parties, all those who knew themselves guilty of *Julius Cæsar*'s death, slew themselves with their own hands; the others rallying with *Messala*, *Bibulus* and *Cornificius*, sent Deputies to *Cæsar* and *Antonius* for an honourable composition, which the two Generals frankly allowed of, so they went into their Army with 14000 Men, who yet might have made a great deal of disturbance in a fortified Camp, and that was the reason which facilitated the Capitulation. And the Camp was afterwards given up to be plundered. By this famous overthrow the Triumviri at last established themselves in an authority, which none were found powerfull enough to dispute with them, and which gave the last blow to the Roman liberty. The death of *Cæsar* was revenged, and by this Victory did his Son begin to lay the foundations of an Empire, which at last for its grandeur and extent has never yet been equalled.

* *Mart. l.* 1.

THE

THE CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE Second Triumvirate.

CHAP. I.

After the Battel of Philippi, Anthony *and* Cæsar *bring their Enemies to punishment. They part the Forces of* Pompey. Cæsar *goes into* Italy.

AS the love of Liberty was the most predominant passion the Romans had, so never any people defended with more vigour that good which they valued more than their Lives. It was this that bred so many divisions among them, and was the cause of such bloudy Wars; in which

which one of the parties always had the ſpecious pretence of upholding the publick Liberty: But as the laſt ſighs and groans are uſually moſt violent, ſo the Battel of *Philippi*, which was the laſt effort of the dying Commonwealth, was the greateſt ſtruggle that ever ſhe had for the maintaining her authority. The Sedition of the *Gracchi* was the firſt where the Bloud of Roman Citizens was ſhed, however that ſeemed to be but onely a Popular Commotion, ſeeing it was decided in the Forum in an hours time. The Wars that were kindled afterwards between *Marius* and *Sylla* had longer and more fatal conſequences: But then *Italy*, or rather *Rome*, onely was the Theatre of them; and what animoſity ſoever appeared between the two Parties the reſt of the World felt nothing of it. The diviſion of *Cæſar* and *Pompey* went much farther, the whole Roman Empire was ſhaken by it: But although all its Forces had fought at *Pharſalia*, they were not comparable to thoſe that appeared afterwards at the Battel of *Philippi*, where above 200000 effective Men were in Arms, commanded by the greateſt Generals of that time. Beſides too, in the forementioned Commotions, ſeveral Senatours thought they might very well ſtand neuters out of their reſpect to the Commonwealth, whoſe name at leaſt in appearance was ſtill reverenced, whereas in this laſt occaſion, the mask being laid aſide by the proceeding and declarations of the

the Triumvirs all management and conduct was uſeleſs, and there was an abſolute neceſſity of taking one ſide or t'other, for Liberty or againſt it. But that was utterly ruined by the defeat of *Brutus*, and from that moment *Cæſar* and *Anthony* began to act as Sovereigns and divide the Roman Empire as theirs by Conqueſt; for though *Lepidus* had his ſhare of the Government, yet as he had had none in the danger of the Wars, he was but very little conſidered, all the love of the Souldiers, which was the firmeſt prop of their Empire, being turned in favour of thoſe that had headed them upon all occaſions. The following days after the Victory were employ'd by the Triumvirs in puniſhing their foes; *Anthony* ſacrificed *Hortenſius* to the memory of his Brother *Caius*, and put *Varro* to death, who reproach'd him with his debauches, and in ſome ſort did then foretell the miſerable end he himſelf ſhould come to. *Livius Druſus*, the Father of that *Livia* who was afterwards married to *Auguſtus* killed himſelf in his Tent, and *Quintilius Varus* adorned with all the marks of the honours and dignities he had paſſed through, made himſelf be ſlain by his freedman. *Cæſar* upon this occaſion appeared much more cruel than *Anthony*, whether it were that the pain and uneaſineſs of his ſickneſs had ſowred his humour, or that he really had a bent to cruelty, or what is more likely had his temper ſo much at command, that he

he put on gentleneſs or ſeverity as in policy was neceſſary. He ſent the Head of *Brutus* to *Rome* to be thrown at the Feet of his Father's ſtatue, and forced a Senatour and his Son to draw Lots for their lives, but they both refuſed it; the Father voluntarily gave up himſelf to execution, and the Son ſtab'd himſelf before *Cæſar*'s face. To another that beg'd of him that he might have the Rites of Burial, he ſaid that *that would ſoon be at the diſpoſal of the Ravens*; theſe and ſuch like bitter words, joined to the rigour of his puniſhments, rendred him ſo odious to the reſt of the Priſoners that were brought fettered before them, that they ſaluted *Anthony* with reſpect, but loaded *Cæſar* with injuries and bloudy reproaches, which none did with more violence than *Favonius*, who at his death took all the liberty of ſpeech and railing freedom of a Cynick Philoſopher. After having thus ſatisfied their revenge, the Triumvirs thought upon eſtabiſhing their authority. *Anthony* undertook to go into *Aſia* to gather Money in thoſe Provinces that were tributary to the *Romans*; and *Cæſar* took upon him to lead the old Troops into *Italy* to put them in poſſeſſion of the Lands that were promiſed them. This Commiſſion was an undertaking both nice and full of danger. *Cæſar* had to doe with Souldiers who thought they had right to give Laws even to their Commanders for the great ſervices they had done them, and who would never have wanted

wanted welcome entertainment from the other ſide; for the remainders of the contrary Faction did ſtill ſubſiſt in the perſons of *Domitius* and *Staius Murcus*, the Lieutenant-Generals of *Brutus* who had both very powerfull Fleets; for *Caſſius* of *Parma* had joined them with thirty Rhodian Ships aſſiſted by *Clodius Forulus* and young *Cicero*, ſo that they were able to make a conſiderable progreſs had they remained united, but their ambition divided them. *Domitius*, who would be independent and head of the Party, quitted *Murcus*, who thereupon went and joined with *Pompey*, the moſt dangerous Enemy of the Triumvirs. He was Maſter of *Sicily*, and very ſtrong at Sea, and if he had had but as much conduct as he had valour, he would have been able to diſpute the Empire of the World with them, or at leaſt have ſhared it; but for want of good education, learning and knowledge, he was of ſo irreſolute a temper, that though he had a brisk and ready wit, he ſo wholly abandoned himſelf to the management of his freedom, that he ſeemed rather to be their Slave. Among them *Menas* and *Menecrates* were of moſt authority, they commanded his Troops made up of fugitive Slaves, and of thoſe Souldiers that the fury of the Triumvirs had driven out of *Italy*: but that which more maintained the reputation of this Party was the great number of noble perſons that were proſcribed, who had fled for refuge into *Sicily*, like thoſe driven by ſtorms

ſtorms, to whom a ſmall ſhelter or an open Road appears a ſafe harbour. The arrival of *Murcus* encreaſed his Forces; nevertheleſs he did not oppoſe *Cæſar*, who returned into *Italy* with five Legions and 4000 Horſe, *Anthony* having kept with him 10000 and ſix Legions. They had disbanded the reſt of their Army, after they had ſatisfied them with what Money they had left, and what they found in the Conſpiratours Camp. They were all old Souldiers whoſe time of ſervice was expired, and who beſides that pretended to the rewards and inheritances that had been promiſed them; 'twas this that was the moſt perplexing buſineſs and important care of the Triumvirs. Though the 43 Legions they had in the beginning of the War were by this time reduced to 28, they had ſtill need of vaſt ſums to pay according to their promiſe 5000 Drachmas to every private Souldier, almoſt 100*li.* and to the others in proportion; this was the principal motive of *Anthony*'s expedition into *Aſia*, he had beſides the Legions 4000 old Souldiers, Volunteers, who ſerved him as his Guards, and as many remained with *Cæſar* in the ſame poſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Anthony *goes into* Grecia, *he ſtays at* Athens, *he goes into* Aſia, *where he is honourably received, his Speech to the Deputies.*

ANTHONY loved his pleaſure above all other things, and upon the leaſt reſpite he had from buſineſs he always follow'd his natural bent and inclination. After the atchievement of ſuch a famous Victory that ſeemed to be gained wholly by him, he could not refuſe himſelf the ſatisfaction of ſeeing *Greece*, it being the Countrey of the World where flattery was managed with moſt delicacy; to gain the hearts of this People, he would needs diſ-robe himſelf of all kind of Majeſty, that rendred him any ways formidable to them, he was familiarly preſent at the conferences of the Philoſophers at *Athens*, and made great Preſents to that City, and never was better pleaſed than when he was called the Friend and Patron of the Greeks, or a lover of the Athenians. He adminiſtred juſtice with great gentleneſs and equity, and was always giving them ſome taſte of his rallying humour, as when thoſe of *Megara* earneſtly deſired he would go and ſee the place of their Aſſemblies, imagining he would admire the ſtructure of it; he went thither and after he had intentively viewed it, when

when one took the boldneſs to ask him what he thought of it, *it appears to me*, ſaith he, *to be very little, and ready to fall to ruine.* He took the meaſures of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, out of a deſign to finiſh it, as he had promiſed the Senate; and then leaving *Marcus Cenſorius* to command in *Greece*, he went over into *Aſia* with all his Troops. There all the Princes of the Eaſt that acknowledged the Roman power, came to make their court to him, and the faireſt Princeſſes ſtrove to gain his favour either by the charms of their Beauty or the magnificence of their Preſents. This crowd of Sovereigns that daily waited in his Antichamber with their praiſes and ſubmiſſions did moſt agreeably flatter his ambition, but the manner of his reception at *Epheſus* wrought it up to intolerable pride. The inhabitants went to meet him dreſt like Fawns and Satyrs, the Women like Bacchanals, armed with Thirſes, crowned with Ivy, and covered with Tyger's Skins; all this was accompanied with a pleaſant conſort of Flutes, Hoboys and other inſtruments. They called *Anthony Bacchus*, Father of the Graces and Gentleneſs; and indeed the name ſuited him well, but not in reſpect of every body. 'Tis true indeed he pardoned all thoſe of *Brutus*'s Party that ſurrendred themſelves to him, except *Petronius* and *Quintus*, the firſt was charged with being one of the Conſpiratours againſt *Ceſar*, and the other with betraying *Dolabella*

bella in *Laodicea*, but then he took away the Eſtates of ſeveral rich Citizens to enrich his Flatterers and Bouffons, who making people that were in perfect health believe they were dead, very impudently went and beg'd their Eſtates: Among others a Cook of his, for dreſſing him a Supper that pleaſed him, got the Houſe of a wealthy inhabitant of *Magneſia*. In the mean time, being preſſed by the neceſſity of giving his Troops ſatisfaction, he aſſembles all the Deputies of all thoſe that were either ſubjects or allies of the Roman Empire in *Aſia*, and harangued them after this manner. *Gentlemen, ye muſt needs be ſenſible of the advantages ye have enjoyed under the Government of the Romans, and with what gentleneſs they have governed you ever ſince* Attalus *at his death bequeathed you to them; they freely remitted all thoſe Taxes ye paid to that Prince and his predeceſſours, till the ambition of ſome of our Citizens, making them rebell againſt us, we were obliged to draw ſome ſupply of money which we wanted from theſe Provinces; but it was with ſuch moderation that the Tax was much beneath what ye were able to give. As our deſign was not to ruine you, we onely demanded a part of your revenue, that at leaſt we might have our ſhare of your aſſiſtence as well as our Enemies, who, far from treating you with the ſame lenity, exacted much more from you by down-right violence, and againſt the authority of the Senate. Ye may very well remember that* Julius Cæſar *generouſly forgave*

you the third part of the impoſt ye granted him, and having regard to your Petitions and complaints, I gave leave that ye your ſelves ſhould gather the Taxes among your own Subjects, yet all theſe teſtimonies of his clemency and humanity have not been able to hinder ſome ill-minded Senatours from making him paſs for a Tyrant; they declared themſelves our enemies becauſe we endeavoured to revenge the murther of him, who was both our friend and our General, but ye notwithſtanding the great obligations ye owed him, have not been aſhamed to aſſiſt his murtherers with vaſt ſums of Money. And ſince that ye would needs run their fortune in the War, and that the Gods have been pleaſed to grant the Victory, not according to your wiſhes but their own juſtice, there is all the reaſon in the world we ſhould treat you as the allies, or indeed as the accomplices of our Foes, and that we ſhould impoſe ſome puniſhment upon you. But as we are willing to believe that this fault is rather the effect of their violence than your will we ſhall not proceed againſt you with any cruel or inſupportable puniſhments. Ye know without doubt we owe our Souldiers large recompences, as the reward of the Victories they have gained, and for this we have engaged both our Words and Oaths. Theſe rewards ought to be given in Money, in Lands and in Houſes. We have 28 Legions, which make 170000 Men, beſides ſome other Troops, not counting the Cavalry, nor the Veterans that have obtained their diſmiſſion, ſo that ye may judge of our occa-

occaſions by the number of our Souldiers. 'Twas this that obliged Cæſar *to go into* Italy *to diſtribute theſe rewards in Lands and Houſes. Even whole Cities will ſcarce be ſufficient for this deſign, which at the ſame time will alter the ſtate and circumſtances of that Province: But becauſe we will not take your Cities and inheritances from you, nor drive you from your Temples and the Sepulchres of your Forefathers, all the puniſhment ye have deſerved ſhall be impoſed in Money, without forcing you however to give us all ye are worth. But even this proceeding too is diſpleaſing to us, it ſeems too rigorous; and we are reſolved to doe nothing but what ſhall be approved of by reaſonable and unintereſſed Perſons. We demand of you onely what ye gave our Adverſaries, which is ten years Tribute; but as ye paid it to them in two years time, we require it of you in one, for our occaſions that preſs us conſtrain us to decree it ſo; and beſides the love and eſteem ye ſeem to have for us ſhould make you have the ſame ſentiments. This is all the pain ye ſhall endure, ſeeing the Laws of humanity permit not always that the puniſhment ſhould be proportionable to the crime.* All thoſe that were preſent threw themſelves weeping at the feet of *Anthony*. They remonſtrated to him that *Their aſſiſting* Brutus *and* Caſſius *could not be laid to their charge as a crime, becauſe they were forced to it, and that by ſuch intolerable uſage, that they were rather objects of mercy and pity than puniſhment. That they ſhould eſteem themſelves even*

too happy to be able to aſſiſt thoſe to whom they were ſo much obliged with all they were worth; but ſince their Enemies had taken not onely all their Gold and Silver that was coined, but all the Plate and ornaments of the Cities and Temples, they were reduced to the utmoſt extremity. This Diſcourſe not being able to ſatisfie *Anthony*, the Oratour *Hybreas* told him boldly enough, *My Lord, If you would exact from us in one year what we are but able to pay in two, you ſhould that year give us two Harveſts and two Vintages.* This liberty of ſpeech did not at all diſpleaſe *Anthony*, for he loved a thing well ſaid; and the ſame *Hybreas* upon another occaſion ſaid to him, Aſia *has already paid to you* 200000 *Talents, if the Money did not come to your hands bring them to an account that received it, but if it did and you have none of it left we are undone.* At length after many conteſts, theſe Deputies beſeeched *Anthony* to be contented with the Tax of nine years to be paid in two, which he granted them. So all the tributary Kings and Princes of *Aſia*, with the free Cities, and all the People in general were obliged to contribute to the payment of this ſum. *Anthony* after this went a progreſs all about the Countrey, where he gave extraordinary demonſtrations of his generoſity and good nature. He pardoned *Lucius*, Brother to *Caſſius*, and ſeveral others of his Enemies, whom the report of his clemency drew out of the places where they were hid; onely he ſpared none that had

had a hand in the death of *Cæsar*, or were of the number of the Conspiratours. *Lycia* that was laid waste by *Brutus* he exempted from the contribution. He persuaded the Xanthians to rebuild their City; to the Rhodians he gave *Andros*, *Tenos* and *Gnidos*. Those of *Tharsus* and *Laodicea* enjoyed freedom from the imposition in consideration that they had been severely used by *Cassius*, and set at liberty those of these two Cities that had been made Slaves. Amongst the rest he was not unmindfull of the Athenians, but gave them the Isle of *Egina*; so that the whole weight of the contribution fell heaviest upon the People of the lesser *Asia*, *Syria*, *Phrygia*, *Mysia* and *Gallatia*, who were extremely haraſſed, as likewise were the Provinces of *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia* and *Palestine*. *Anthony* then made himself sovereign Judge of the differences between the Kings of those Countries, as in *Cappadocia* between *Ariarathes* and *Syſenes*, for whom the beauty of his Mother *Glaphyra* was so powerfull as to carry the Crown from his Competitour. At this time he received very favourably the Embassy from *Hircanus*, King and High-priest of the Jews, and began to give *Herod* marks of his favour for the services he had received from his Father *Antipater*.

CHAP. III.

Cleopatra *Queen of* Ægypt *her Character, ſhe comes to* Anthony, *their interview,* Anthony *puts* Arſinoe *the Siſter of* Cleopatra *to death.*

AMong thoſe Sovereigns whoſe deſtiny depended on the abſolute will and diſpoſition of *Anthony*, *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Ægypt*, by her conduct found ſhe had reaſon both to hope and fear: She had managed her ſelf like an adroit Politician in the time of the War, aſſiſting *Dolabella* at the ſame time that *Serapion*, her Lieutenant in *Cyprus*, fought for *Caſſius*; ſhe knew well enough that this had not been very pleaſing to the Triumviri, conſidering what ſhe owed to the memory of *Julius Cæſar*. The love of that great Man and her was ſufficiently known to all the World, but as if ſhe had been reſolved to conquer and triumph over the Romans in the Perſons of their Generals; ſhe had received the Addreſſes of *Pompey*'s eldeſt Son, ſo that never Beauty was ever ſignalized by more illuſtrious conqueſts. The amorous paſſions ſhe had inſpired when ſhe was very young gave her ſuch an opinion of her Charms as ſhe hoped ſhe eaſily might revive that flame in *Anthony*'s heart of which heretofore he had given her teſtimony, when he commanded the Cavalry of *Gabinius* in *Ægypt*. But above

above all it was her Wit that maintained this hope in her, for though her Perſon was very charming, and the beauty and brightneſs of her Eyes was not to be withſtood, yet there were at *Rome* thoſe of her Sex that did not yield to her in the leaſt for Mein nor Beauty, but none could compare with her for the agreeableneſs of her Wit and her charming converſation; it was ſuch a pleaſure to hear her talk, and all her Diſcourſe was animated with ſuch an air as was not to be expreſſed, that it made an extraordinary impreſſion upon all thoſe that heard her; the very tone of her Voice, accompanied with the lovelineſs of her Eyes and the livelineſs of her Wit never failed both to pleaſe and perſuade. Then ſhe expreſſed her ſelf with ſo much facility in ſo many ſeveral Languages, that even that was enough to paſs for a Prodigy. The moſt Barbarous Nations with wonder heard her anſwer their Ambaſſadours without an Interpreter; ſhe underſtood, beſides many others, the Ethiopian, the Troglodite, the Hebrew, the Arabian, Syrian, Median and Parthian Tongues, and it was the more admirable in her by reaſon ſeveral of the Kings her Predeceſſours had not been able to learn the Ægyptian, and ſome of them had forgot the Macedonian, their own Mother Tongue. The great confidence ſhe put in theſe her extraordinary accompliſhments gave her more aſſurance to go to *Anthony*, who had ſent *Dellius* to

cite her to give an account of her conduct to him. *Dellius* was a Man of Wit and Learning, and a famous Hiſtorian, but one of very ill principles: *Meſſala* called him the Vaulter of the Civil Wars; for he went from the ſervice of *Dolabella* to *Caſſius*'s ſide, and then quitted *Caſſius* for *Anthony*, and at laſt traiterouſly left *Anthony* and went over to *Cæſar*: And his character and diſpoſition was ſuitable, being of the number of thoſe Fellows who have always a baſe compliance for all the inclinations of their Maſters. And as he very well underſtood the humour of *Anthony*, he had no ſooner beheld the Beauty of the Queen, and was ſenſible of the addreſs and power of her Wit and underſtanding, but he eaſily judged what ſentiments ſhe was likely to inſpire him with. It is reported too that he was ſo ſenſible of *Cleopatra*'s Charms as to engage his Heart, and that ſhe was not diſpleaſed with his Love (and indeed in the time of *Seneca*, there went about Letters of his to that Queen, written with a little too much familiarity) however, he omitted nothing that might pleaſe her; he aſſured her that *Anthony* was the beſt natured and moſt Gentile humoured Man in the World, to Perſons of ſo extraordinary merit and ſuch admirable qualifications, and that ſhe had nothing to apprehend, unleſs it were making him too much in love with her, which ſhe did not fear in the leaſt. She then prepared to meet him, but

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in ſo gallant a manner, that at firſt ſight it made a moſt pleaſing impreſſion upon his Soul. *Anthony* waited for her in *Cilicia*. *Cleopatra* arriving at the mouth of the River *Cydnus*, embarked her ſelf upon a Veſſel whoſe Poop was of Gold, the Sails of Purple Silk, the Oars of Silver, which gently kept time to a Symphony made by a conſort of excellent Muſick. The Queen was laid under a Canopy of rich Cloth of Gold, dreſt like *Venus* riſing out of the Sea, about her were lovely Children like *Cupids* fanning her, the handſomeſt of her Women habited like Nereids and Graces were leaning negligently on the ſides and ſhrowds of the Veſſels; the ſweets that were burning perfumed the Banks of the River, which were covered with an infinite number of People, who ran thither with ſuch earneſtneſs that *Anthony*, who was mounted on a Throne to make a ſhew of Majeſty, was left quite alone whilſt all the Multitude that flocked to the River ſhouted for joy, and cried *that the Goddeſs* Venus *was come to viſit the God* Bacchus *for the happineſs of* Aſia. *Anthony* thought himſelf obliged in civility to deſire her to land and ſup with him, but ſhe replied it would be better if he ſupped with her, which he did not refuſe leſt he ſhould appear ill bred. He was ſurpriſed at the neatneſs and magnificence of the entertainment, but that which he moſt admired was the ingenious placing of the Lights, which both adorned and enlightned the Hall, being ſo diſpo-

disposed as they made a hundred several delightfull figures. The next day he in his turn would treat her, and endeavoured all he could to outgo her in a sumptuous entertainment, but he himself soon perceived he was far short of it, so that turning all to railery, he first began to laugh at the want of contrivance and ingenuity in his Attendants. All his mirth and jests were blunt and Souldier-like, which extremely pleased *Cleopatra*, and soon made her understand *Anthony*'s true character and humour; but she carried on the railery with all the delicacy and dexterity imaginable, till at last taking a more serious air in her Discourses, she told him, that *she came not thither to clear her self, but to be recompensed for the Services she had done him and* Cæsar: She insisted much upon the Forces she had sent with *Alienus* to the Assistence of *Dolabella*, and valued her self upon the Fleet she put to Sea in spight of *Cassius* and his Generals, which she commanded in person when it was scattered by storms, and underwent so many dangers in that expedition; in short, so many excellencies and charms both of Wit and Judgment appeared in her conversation, that *Anthony* could no longer defend his Heart, but from that moment entertained such a Passion for her, as was the cause of all the misfortunes of his life, and which ended not but with it. The first Sacrifice he made her was her Sister *Arsinoe*; he put her to death though she came to beg his

his protection, after she had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Diana* at *Miletus*, and made *Serapion* give her up the City of *Tyre*. He drove away a false *Ptolemy*, whom (for his likeness to *Cleopatra*'s Brother, who was defeated by *Julius Cæsar*, and drowned in the *Nile*) those of *Aradus* had acknowledged for their King.

CHAP. IV.

Cæsar's Sickness. He comes to Rome. *His difficulties in distributing Rewards. The dangers he run upon this occasion.*

THIS Passion so fatal to *Anthony* was no less to all the Roman Empire, and *Italy* first of all began to feel the effects of it. *Cæsar* being landed there found himself so ill at *Brunduſium* that the news of his death was reported every where; however, he wrote to the Senate that he should shortly be at *Rome*, and ordered thanks to be given to the Gods for the defeat of the Conspiratours. This news was received according to the different inclinations of the Senatours. Those that loved him were afflicted at his Sickess and wished his return, which others as much apprehended, out of fear, that the report that had run of his death was a trick to discover their intentions; and the terrour of these last was so great that

that ſome of them began to think of making away themſelves; therefore to prevent the conſequences of theſe different agitations, *Cæſar* came to *Rome* as ſoon as his ſtrength would permit him. In perſuance of the agreement they had made when they parted, the Lieutenants of *Anthony* delivered him up two Legions, and the Government of *Africa*, which *Cæſar* left to *Lepidus*, having been convinced of the ſincerity of his intentions (for ſome ſecret enemies of his had accuſed him to his Collegues of intelligence with *Pompey*. But the moſt preſſing and difficult affair was to content the Souldiers without provoking the People; it was abſolutely neceſſary either to abandon the ſeveral Towns deſtined for their recompence, or elſe to ſatisfie them with Money to eſtabliſh themſelves elſewhere. The publick Treaſury was exhauſted, and *Cæſar* ſaw no help from thence; almoſt all the Inhabitants of the Towns concerned in this matter were come to *Rome*. Women with Children in their Armes, whoſe young years and innocence drew every ones compaſſion, daily filled the Temples and publick places with their lamentations. The People ſaid openly, that *this War had not been undertaken for the publick good, but onely in perſuance of the Triumvirs private intereſt*, and that *ſince they had reaped the advantage of it, it was but reaſonable that they ſhould bear the charges, and not reward their Souldiers with the oppreſſion of the poor People.*

Thoſe

Thoſe that thought themſelves more politick, diſcourſing concerning this management of the Triumvirs, ſaid, that *by eſtabliſhing Troops in the Cities their intent was wholly to bring them under, and reduce them to a kind of ſlavery.* *Cæſar* all this while was not ignorant of theſe complaints, and patiently bore theſe murmurings; but then he borrowed Money on all hands for his Men, and when that was not ſufficient he was forced to give them Places for their inheritance. The Town of *Cremona* was one of thoſe that ſuffered moſt in this diſtribution, for being ſo well affected to *Brutus*'s ſide, and *Mantua* onely by reaſon of her neighbourhood had more than her ſhare in theſe misfortunes, in which the Muſes choiceſt Darling, and the greateſt Wit and beſt Poet that ever *Rome* brought forth had like to have periſhed. This was the Poet *Virgil*, who was a party concerned in this publick calamity, for defending the poſſeſſion of his ſmall Eſtate from *Arrius* the Centurion, encouraged to it I ſuppoſe by the knowledge of his own merit and the friendſhip of ſome great Man at *Rome*; but the Souldier as little knew the one as he valued the other, and therefore the Poet was forced to fly and ſave himſelf from the Centurion, who perſued him with his drawn Sword, by ſmimming croſs a River. The happy Fate that attends on Learning ſaved him; and it's probable that this adventure contributed to his reputation, ſince it is

the

the Subject of that excellent Eclogue which is the firſt of his Bucolicks. *Cæſar* himſelf was not exempted from danger, for both Souldiers and People were equally mutinous and exaſperated againſt him; for it hapned that a private Souldier, being ſeated among the Knights in the Amphitheatre to ſee the publick Shews, he made him be pulled from thence by an Officer; *Cæſar*'s ill-willers immediately gave it out that he was drawn to puniſhment, the other Souldiers in great fury immediately mutined againſt him, and he had had difficulty enough to ſave his life from them if their Fellow had not preſently appeared untouch'd. He was forced to endure all theſe inſolencies by the neceſſity he had of the Souldiers to preſerve his dignity, which he could not maintain without their aſſiſtence, and they too having all their hopes depending on their Generals, were for their own ſakes abſolutely obliged to protect them; and for this reaſon they kept in Arms and very well united among themſelves. However, *Fulvia*, *Anthony*'s Wife, made her advantage of theſe diſorders to bring her deſigns about; the report of her Husband's unfaithfulneſs to her bed inclined her to be revenged on him in like manner: She would willingly had *Cæſar* partake in this piece of revenge, but he was not inclined to it, which drew upon him all the rage of this Woman, agitated at the ſame time with ſuch a furious paſſion as jealouſly, and more exaſperated

exasperated by the frustrating her desires.

Lucius, Brother to *Anthony*, was then Consul; he had all the defects of his Brother, and not one of his vertues, at least if one would believe the Authours of that age, who living under the Empire of the Successours of the *Cæsars*, took care to make their Enemies odious in the characters they gave of them. But to say truth, if we consider the resolution he shewed at *Perusia*, there is reason to imagine that this account of theirs is extremely to his disadvantage. He was very much obliged to *Fulvia*, for having got him the honour of Triumph, for his conquering some Nations in the *Alps*; he was besides assisted by the counsel of *Manius*, *Anthony*'s Friend, who was indeed a Man of sense, but very dangerous to deal with. To them did *Fulvia* represent that *Cæsar* doing all in his own name attributed to himself all the applause, as well as the conferring all manner of recompences and exemptions. She made *Lucius* sensible that it was convenient they should go together to the Quarters of *Anthony*'s two Legions that were delivered to *Cæsar*, and with her she carried her Children. There they publickly declared that there was no need of depriving innocent persons of their Estates, since the possessions of the Triumvirs open and declared Enemies were sufficient to recompense the Souldiers. This discourse gained them the good Wills of all those who thought themselves

ſelves unjuſtly driven out of their inheritances, by reaſon they were not at all concerned in the Civil War. *Cæſar* ſaw well enough to what end theſe tranſactions tended, but as yet was not able to oppoſe them. *Lucius* propoſed to him the ſtaying for *Anthony* e'er he diſtributed the rewards, but the impatience of the Souldiers not allowing them time enough for that, he then agreed to appoint Commiſſioners in his name for that purpoſe, that ſo by that means he himſelf might gain the eſteem of the Souldiers. They then therefore began to put *Anthony*'s two Legions in poſſeſſion of the Lands aſſigned them, but not till *Lucius* and *Fulvia* had exhorted them not to forget their General, who had always been a father to them, and to whom the honour of the Victory at *Philippi* was due, beſides the Commiſſaries that were deputed, privily adviſed the Souldiers to uſe their own diſcretion, and doe what they pleaſed; which carried them to commit ſtrange inſolencies, and enlarge their bounds much beyond what was ſet them, even to the laying waſte whole Towns. *Cæſar* in the mean time was the object of their complaints, and loaded with their curſes, and on the other hand he found himſelf hemmed in by powerfull Enemies; for on one ſide *Pompey* hindered the importation of Proviſions into the Ports of *Italy*, on the other ſide *Domitius* and *Murcus* were Maſters of the Sea with their Fleets. 'Twas in theſe circumſtances doubtleſs that he

he found he had need to uſe all the prudence and addreſs he was maſter of. He therefore exempted from the diſtribution the Lands of the Senatours, and the Dowries of Widows, as likewiſe thoſe Lands that could not maintain ſuch a certain number of Souldiers; but then to content the Souldiery to whom theſe exemptions were not at all pleaſing, he granted that the next kindred of thoſe that were ſlain in the laſt Battels ſhould have their ſhare in the diſtribution. Thus he was forced to manage them by all the ways of gentleneſs he could, for the vigorous and bold actions of his Father *Julius* were now impracticable. The Troops were now ſenſible of the abſolute neceſſity there was of them, and for that reaſon were obedient neither to their Superiours nor their Diſcipline, but as they themſelves pleaſed; ſo that *Cæſar* was cautious how he dealt with them in ſo dangerous a conjuncture, eſpecially after what had hapned to him upon this occaſion. He had appointed a day of Rendezvouz to his Souldiers in the field of *Mars* that there he might proceed to the diſtribution of the Lands. They there met before day, and finding he came not ſoon enough among them, they began to grow mutinous and talk very ſcurrilouſly againſt him; upon this *Nonius*, one of the Tribunes, ventured to remonſtrate to them their impatience and the indecency of their carriage, but his ſpeeches were ſtreight

laught at, and from jeers they ſoon came to injuries and blows. The Tribune was forced to fly for it, and ſeeing no other means to eſcape, he threw himſelf into the *Tiber* and was there drowned. The Mutineers drew out his Body and expoſed it in the way by which *Cæſar* was to paſs to the Field of *Mars*, to inſtruct him what he was to truſt to by this fatal example: His Friends gave him notice of this diſorder, and counſelled him to avoid it; he would not however follow their advice, telling them *his abſence would encourage and carry them on to greater inſolencies*. He therefore went to them, and ſeeing the Body of *Nonius* laid out, he onely turned a little on one ſide. Being come into the midſt of the aſſembly, he ſeemed to believe that this piece of Cruelty proceeded onely from ſome of *Nonius*'s particular Enemies, exhorting the Souldiers not to carry on their hatred and revenge ſo far another time; then without mentioning it any more, he paſſed to the diſtributing the Lands and the marks of honour that were due to thoſe that had ſignalized themſelves in any action. Some that had not deſerved any preſented themſelves, he though he knew them well enough did not refuſe them, but accepted them without the leaſt ſign of diſpleaſure. The Souldiers by theſe teſtimonies of prudence and bounty in their General were touched with ſo much ſhame and repentance that they required the authours of *Nonius*'s murther might be puniſhed;

niſhed; he anſwered that *they would be puniſhed enough by the reproaches of their Conſcience, and by the remorſe that would follow ſo ill an action.* This Anſwer of his quite gained their hearts, ſo that all their fury was turned into praiſes and acclamations of joy. In this place we muſt not forget two important reflexions of *Appian* upon the cauſes of the inſolence of the Souldiery, becauſe they ſufficiently mark the wiſedom and penetration of that Hiſtorian. He ſays, that "as in thoſe times the Prætors and other "Officers that commanded the Troops "were not created by the ſuffrages of the "People according as the Laws required, "ſo their authority had no longer that "awfull reſpect which the Laws uſually "ſtamped upon it; and that beſides, the "Souldiers were not preſent at aſſemblies "to offer their ſervice to their Countrey, "but to him that promiſed them moſt for "their aſſiſtence, not againſt Enemies and "Strangers but their own Fellow-Citizens; "ſo that they did not look upon themſelves as Souldiers bound to the Republick by Oaths and Laws, but as Friends "who out of a mutual affection aſſiſted "their Friends upon occaſion, ſeeing even their Generals who employed them "for their own particular intereſt, conſidered them onely as ſuch. The other reflexion is, "that Deſerters being heretofore by the *Roman* Laws puniſhed with "death without any hope of pardon, they

" now inſtead of that were well paid and
" rewarded with honours for their deſer-
" ting; and ſeeing on all ſides the ſame
" Enſigns, the ſame Language, and the
" ſame Diſcipline, and every one of the
" Generals pretending to be authoriſed by
" the Laws, and to fight in behalf of the
" Commonwealth, they did not imagine
" they betrayed their Party what ſide ſoe-
" ver they took, and under this pretext
" paſſed from one Camp to another without
" any ſcruple at all; that this ill principle
" and diſorder was the cauſe why whole Ar-
" mies ſometimes forſook their Commander
" in chief, this baſeneſs being countenanced
" by the example of moſt remarkable Men
" of either party; ſo that it was no longer
" the Laws that kept Men in the ſervice, but
" the hopes of intereſt and profit, which fal-
" ling ſhort of their expectation, was the
" cauſe that carried them on to ſuch inſo-
" lencies, and was the original of ſo ma-
" ny Mutinies and Seditions.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Miſunderſtandings between Cæſar, Fulvia *and* Lucius; *They come to open War. The Negligence of* Pompey.

ROME was not at all exempted from thoſe ills that afflicted the reſt of *Italy*. Proviſions were extreme dear by reaſon *Pompey* ſtopped all the paſſages by Sea from abroad, and at home the Troops conſumed all the increaſe of the Land. Beſides this, they dayly committed a thouſand inſolences in the City, ſo that all Trading ceaſed, and the Artizans durſt no longer open their Shops. *Lucius* ſeemed to be very much grieved at theſe diſorders, and deteſted the Triumvirate as the ſource of all theſe miſeries. *Cæſar* on his part uſed all the means he could to aſſiſt, or at leaſt to pacifie the poor Countrey People that were driven from their Poſſeſſions. He heard their complaints and promiſed to doe them juſtice, which incenſed the Souldiers that were *Anthony*'s, being yet more ſtirred up to it by the artifices of *Fulvia*. *Cæſar* openly complained of this Woman, declaring that *ſhe wholly acted againſt the intereſt and true ſentiments of her Husband*; but ſhe hearkned to no Body but *Manius*, who perſuaded her that *nothing but a War could force* Anthony *from* Cleopatra's *Armes, and bring him into* Italy. As for *Lucius*, he had no

other ſentiments but what were influenced by theſe two. *Cæſar* having left *Rome*, *Lucius* would have gone with him and carried *Anthony*'s Children; but underſtanding *Cæſar* had ſent ſome Horſe into *Abruzzo* to hinder the landing of *Pompey*'s Troops, he made as if they were ſent againſt him, and ſo retired himſelf unto the Lands of *Anthony*, where he aſſembled the Souldiers; publiſhing that *Cæſar* hated his Brother and deſigned to ruine him. He on the contrary declared, that *he was bound to* Anthony *both by the obligations of intereſt and friendſhip*, and that Lucius *onely practiſed this means to diſſolve the authority of the Triumvirate, which was the onely engagement for the Souldiers recompences.* Their Officers then aſſembled and agreed upon certain Articles which were never executed, onely *Salvidienus*, Lieutenant of *Cæſar*, paſſed the *Alps* for *Spain* without any hindrance from *Aſinius Pollio*, who commanded for *Anthony* in *Gallia Narbonenſis.* In the mean time *Fulvia* and *Lucius* were retired to *Preneſte*, *for fear* (ſaid they) *of* Cæſar *and his ambition*, which they made out by the example of *Lepidus*, who had not the leaſt authority in *Rome.* The Officers of the Veterans went to *Rome*, where they inſpected the Treaty and Articles that were made between *Anthony* and *Cæſar*, and after they had peruſed them they engaged themſelves by oath to judge impartially the differences of their Generals, according

according to reaſon and equity, and to that end ſent Deputies to *Lucius*. He then was moved by their remonſtrances, but *Manius* repreſented the face of things otherwiſe, that whilſt *Anthony* was labouring to get Money for the Souldiers, *Cæſar* dealt under-hand with them for his own private intereſt. That he had ſet *Gaul* at liberty, which was part of *Anthony*'s Government, that he had overrun all *Italy* with his Souldiers, although there were but eighteen Towns deſtined for them; that inſtead of twenty eight Legions who were to be rewarded, there were thirty four that appeared with their pretenſions; that he had ſacked and ravaged even the very Temples of the Gods to give them the riches of them, and all under pretence of marching againſt *Pompey*, which as affairs ſtood now was impoſſible, for want of Proviſion and Ammunition; but that his real purpoſe was by this profuſion to engage them to his ſide againſt *Anthony*. It was to this intent too that he ſold every thing that belonged to the Triumvirs in common ſo cheap, that indeed he rather gave than ſold; and therefore if he was deſirous of Peace, he ought to give an account of what had paſſed through his hands, and for the future to act jointly with them, ſince they had regard onely to the publick good. Theſe accuſations and complaints of theirs were abſolutely againſt one article of the Edict of the Triumvirate, which in expreſs terms mentioned, that

what one of the Triumvirs ordained should be confirmed by the other two. *Cæsar* was too wise to let this pass without insisting upon it, taking his measures accordingly for the War, which he plainly foresaw. As all the actions of great Men are exposed to the reasonings and censures of the Politicians, several of them have imagined that this War was onely an effect of his cunning, that he might force his secret Enemies to declare themselves, and so by the confiscation of their Estates, make a fond for the payment of his Souldiers. Part of *Anthony*'s two Legions who were at *Ancona*, troubled at these Divisions, deputed to him some of their Officers to propose an agreement between them, and put an end to these Factions. *Cæsar* gave them a gratious hearing, and assured them that he both honoured and loved *Anthony*, and that he would never part interests nor alliance, but that *Lucius* had not the same sentiments for him. These Deputies then manifested to *Lucius* this Declaration of *Cæsar*'s, and plainly told him, that if he were not contented to acquiesce in the judgment of those equitable and unconcerned Persons who should be chosen by the two Armies, they then knew well which side they ought to take. *Lucius* was very sensible of these last expressions, and agreed to a Conference with *Cæsar*, and to this end made choice of the Town of *Gabii*, between *Rome* and *Preneste*. There then were placed two Tribunals for the

the Generals, who were in Perſon to lay down their Reaſons, and ſeats for the Judges. *Cæſar* came thither firſt, and ſent out a Party of Horſe on that ſide that *Lucius* was to come, who alſo had done the ſame; theſe two Detachments met and charged each other, ſo that on *Lucius*'s ſide ſome Cavaliers were killed, who upon this was ſo frighted that he could never after be perſuaded to go any farther. Perhaps *Cæſar* knowing his weakneſs had given ſuch an expreſs command to engage, that ſo he might break off the Conference. Whatever the matter was, *Lucius* came not, whereupon the Judges gave it againſt him, and engaged themſelves to ſerve *Cæſar* againſt him. This firſt act of hoſtility was taken as a Declaration of War, which began by very ſharp Letters *Cæſar* and *Lucius* ſent each other. *Lucius* had under his command ſix Legions during his Conſulſhip, and eleven others of *Anthony*'s, commanded by *Calenus*. *Cæſar* had four at *Capua*, with ſome others about his Perſon, and ſix that *Salvidienus* brought him; ſo that their Forces were near upon equal. *Lucius* drew Money from thoſe Nations to whom *Anthony* had granted freedom, and *Cæſar* from the Provinces that fell to his ſhare, excepting *Sardignia*, beſides what he took by way of Loan out of the Temples where the publick Treaſuries were kept, as at *Rome* in the Capitol, and in the Towns of *Ancona*, *Luininm*, * *Niſmes* and *Tibur*. The other

* *Nemauſus.*

ther Provinces were not able to give him any assistence; for *Pompey*, assisted by all the banished Persons who hated the Triumvirate, had laid them waste, and if he had rightly understood his interest and known how to manage to his own advantage the affection the People had for his Father's memory, he by these Divisions might very easily have made himself Master of all *Italy*; for *Murcus* was come up to him with two Legions, twenty four Ships and abundance of Treasure; he had besides receiv'd a considerable re-inforcement from *Cephalonia*, and his Forces did dayly encrease by addition of Fugitives that fled to him for refuge; but withall he had this misfortune, that he had never a faithfull Friend to animate and push on his irresolute and changeable Temper by vigorous daring Counsels. He was contented to be upon the defensive onely, and calmly see his Enemies dispute an Empire to which he had onely pretensions sufficient to make both Parties when united fall upon him with their joint Forces.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Fagius, *Lieutenant of* Cæſar, *is overthrown in* Africa *by* Sextius, Anthony's *Lieutenant.* Cæſar *and* Lucius *make preparations of War againſt each other.*

Sextius, General of the Horſe to *Anthony*, governed in *Africa*, and in perſuance of the Triumvirate agreement had very frankly given up his Forces and Province to *Fagius*, Lieutenant General to *Cæſar*. Aſſoon as he underſtood by Letters from *Lucius*, that *Fulvia* and all *Anthony*'s Friends were fallen out with *Cæſar*, and that this difference was likely to end in an open War, he believed that *Fagius* would deliver him his Troops again with the ſame juſtice and gallantry that he had received them, but he found he had to deal with a brutal Man that had neither. Upon his refuſal he prepared to fight him, and by the reputation he had among them drew to his party ſeveral Africans which joined to the Romans that had ſtill remained with him, made up a conſiderable Force, and with it marched againſt *Fagius*; he waited for him, and they came to a fierce engagement, in which *Fagius* ſeeing the two Wings of his Army beaten, and that his Men forſook him, he killed himſelf with his own hand; ſo victorious *Sextius* retook the Government of the two *Lybias*. *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*,

ritania, *Lucius*'s Friend, encouraged by this ſucceſs, drove *Carina*, one of *Cæſar*'s Party, out of *Africk*. On the other ſide *Domitius* with eighty Ships, manned with two Legions, and a great number of Slingers, Archers and armed Gladiators, cruiſed in the Ionian Seas, and pillaged all the Coaſts that obeyed the Triumvirs. He came up even to *Brunduſium*, and there took ſeveral of *Cæſar*'s Ships, who therefore was forced to ſend a Legion thither, and ſent for *Salvidienus* to him; in the mean time he drew together all the old Troops diſperſed throughout *Italy*, and demanded aſſiſtence of thoſe Princes that were of his Party. *Lucius* on his ſide uſed the ſame diligence; and beſides, he found he had the Peoples favour, who conſidered him as the Protectour of their Liberty. Therefore for this reaſon *Cæſar* aſſembled the Senatours and Roman Knights; he told them that *his Enemies deſpiſed him, becauſe they thought that it was out of fear that he delayed to attack them, but that now he intended to let them know the true reaſons of this his conduct. As for his Army, that dayly was increaſed and ſtrengthned with old tried Souldiers, who breathed nothing but War, but that he had an extreme regret to come to that extremity, as unwilling to act over again the horrours of a Civil War, of which not* Thrace *or* Macedon *was to be the Seat, but* Italy, *which muſt alone endure all the calamities that would follow this Diviſion: That he could not blame* Anthony,

Anthony, *who in like manner had no reaſon to complain of him; that with all earneſtneſs and paſſion he deſired to live in amity with* Lucius, *and that he deſired them to uſe their endeavours to encline him to reaſon, but that if by this he could not be influenced, he would ſoon make him know that his Patience was the effect of his Goodneſs and Vertue, not of his Fear; that in the mean time, he conjured them they would bear witneſs to* Anthony *of his ſincerity, and aſſiſt him againſt* Lucius, *who ſo unjuſtly attacked him.* Upon this the Senate and People deputed ſome of their Body to *Lucius*, who anſwered them *that* Cæſar *had not done fairly, but concealed ſeveral things from them.* *Manius* ſhewed them ſome Letters of *Cæſar*'s, (which were ſuppoſed to be fictitious) in which he requeſted them to aſſiſt him to maintain his dignity and authority by violence and force of Arms; thereupon the Deputies demanding who they thought thoſe were that would oppoſe him, received nothing but vain equivocating Anſwers, upon which they retired. Then both Parties betook themſelves to their Arms. *Cæſar* went out of *Rome*, and left *Lepidus* to command there; he ſent home *Clodia*, the Daughter of *Fulvia* by her former Husband, whom he had betrothed when he firſt made alliance with *Anthony*. *Fulvia* outraged at this affront, to manifeſt her greater reſentment of it, went to the Camp, where ſhe appeared at the head of the Troops with a Helmet

met on her Head, and a Sword by her Side. And at the ſame time two Legions of *Anthony*'s, who were in Garriſon in *Alba*, mutined; which obliged *Cæſar* and *Lucius* to march thitherwards to reap ſome advantage from that diſorder. *Lucius* got thither firſt, and quelled the Sedition. *Cæſar* in his march meeting with *Furnius*, *Lucius*'s Lieutenant, who was carring him a great reinforcement charged him as he retreated to a Mountain; the Night hindred his defeat, and gave *Furnius* an opportunity to get into the Town of *Sentia*, where he was immediately beſieged by *Cæſar*. *Lucius* ſeeing him engaged in this Siege, took the occaſion to return to *Rome*, and ſent thither his Cavalry, which was there received by *Nonius*, and a little after he arrived there himſelf with the reſt of his Legions. *Lepidus* durſt not ſtay his coming, ſince he had openly declared himſelf againſt the Triumvirate, but fled and ſaved himſelf in *Cæſar*'s Camp. And in effect, *Lucius* before the People declaimed againſt the Triumvirate, which he plainly called Tyranny: He told them *that* Cæſar *and* Lepidus *ſhould ſoon be puniſhed for their violences, and that his Brother would renounce this unjuſt power to take the more lawfull one of Conſul.* This Diſcourſe pleaſed the *Romans*, ſo that they ſaluted him with the Title of Emperour. *Cæſar* having notice of this inconſtancy of the People, left his Lieutenant to carry on the Siege, and marched

marched to *Rome*, where *Lucius* durſt not expect him. In this while *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant took the Town of *Sentia*, which *Furnius* quitted to follow *Cæſar*. *Lucius* when he was got out of *Rome*, increaſed his Army with *Anthony*'s Souldiers, who daily joined him: But as a great misfortune to his deſigns, *Barbatus*, *Anthony*'s * Queſtor, arrived in *Italy*, having left his General by reaſon of ſome diſtaſt. Several Perſons demanded of him what were *Anthony*'s ſentiments of theſe tranſactions in *Italy* when he was informed of them by *Fulvia*'s Letters. The Queſtor told them that *Anthony* did not at all approve of the meaſures they took to quarrel with *Cæſar* for what he did to maintain the authority of the Triumvirate. This report immediately ſpread it ſelf, and quite changed the affections of many, ſo that believing they ſhould not diſoblige *Anthony* by making their Court to *Cæſar*, without any heſitation adhered to *Cæſar*'s Party, where they were convinced all the authority of the Triumvirate was united.

*Treaſurer.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Forces of the two Parties. The Characters of the principal Officers, as Agrippa, Salvidienus, Ventidius *and* Pollio. Lucius *is besieged in* Perusia.

THE Forces of each side consisted in three distinct Bodies, which besides the two Heads of the Parties, were commanded by very able Generals, and who afterwards performed very extraordinary actions. These were *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* on *Cæsar*'s side, and *Pollio* and *Ventidius* on that of *Lucius*. But *Pollio* had this advantage over the other three, that he was a Man of Letters and an excellent Oratour; yet though he had a great passion for Learning and Arts, he was no less a good Souldier and skilled in the art of War. He professed himself besides an exact Man of honour and a steadfast Friend: It was this last Vertue that made him a Partizan of *Anthony*'s, being bound to him by all the bands of Friendship which they had contracted when they served together under *Julius Cæsar*. Both he and the others were but meanly born, and particularly *Ventidius* was reproached for being a Slave; for in the War of the Allies his Mother was led in Triumph by *Strabo*, *Pompey*'s Father, carrying her little Son in her Armes; afterwards mere necessity reduced him to hire out

out Mules to the Magiſtrates that were employed in the Provinces, this gave him an opportunity of doing a ſervice for *Julius Cæſar*, which gained him the favour of that great Man. He then received him under his Command, where *Ventidius* by his valour making himſelf remarkable, he came afterwards to be Tribune of the People and then Pretor. In this dignity he by his intereſt with the Souldiery, was a great help to *Anthony*'s affairs, whom he aſſiſted very powerfully. *Anthony* out of gratitude uſed all his intereſt and authority to get him the charge of Chief-Prieſt and Conſul; whereupon the People were very much choqued at his preferment, and publiſhed Lebels againſt him. Some of the Verſes were to this purpoſe: *Aſſemble your ſelves and conſult, O ye Augurs and Southſayers, upon this extraordinary Prodigy, he that curried the Mules is become Conſul.* But for all this, this very Man, ſo deſpiſed by the Romans, was the onely Man that ever revenged that ſignal ſhame and affront given them by the Parthians in the overthrow of *Craſſus*. He defeated them in three Battels, killed their King's Son, and was the onely General of all the Romans that ever had the honour and happineſs of triumphing over that Nation. And indeed the Romans, though late, were ſenſible of the juſtice they owed to his valour, in ordaining magnificent Funeral Rites for him at the charge of the publick. *Agrippa* had no leſs merit, and

his vertue was less envied; he particularly signalized himself whereever he had any command, but above all in the defeat of *Pompey*, and the Victory over *Anthony* at *Actium*. He had besides ever the chiefest place in *Augustus* his favour, and had the honour to be his Son-in-law, and to leave Emperours of his posterity. He justly passed for the greatest Captain of his time, and never did Man shew more obedience to his Prince, nor more ambition to command others. He was a great enemy to all delays, and had no sooner formed any enterprise but he immediately put it in execution; withall he was generous, sincere, and above all affected a frank liberty of speaking his mind, so that he even spared not taxing his Prince of some actions that were displeasing to him, as savoured too much of cruelty. *Salvidienus* his character was very different from this; he was no better born than the others, or to say better, much worse; for he was but a poor Peasant, forced for want to look after Cattel: whilst he was such, there happened to him something that appeared a prodigy, his Head seemed as if all in a flame; this moved him to list himself in the Army, where by his valour he rose to the most considerable commands, but then he was carried on by an unmeasurable ambition to undertake any thing to satisfie his unreasonable desires; he was of a depraved mind, and of an ill turned mischievous temper, those wicked inclinations

ons made him moſt ungratefully conſpire againſt *Cæſar*, who had made him Conſul againſt the received rule, without being a Senatour; but *Salvidienus* was puniſhed for this Treaſon as he deſerved, and ſo his Death was as infamous as his Birth. He had now repaſſed the *Alps*, and was marching to join *Cæſar* in ſpight of *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, who were at the heels of him with their Armies. As this joining was a matter of very great importance, *Lucius* chiefly ſtrove to hinder it; and *Salvidienus* had been utterly loſt if *Agrippa* had not advanced between *Lucius* and him, and attacked the Town of *Sutrium*, which he carried by ſtorm. This Town had ſhewed it ſelf very affectionate to *Lucius*, and the danger it was in moved him to turn head and relieve it; which gave *Salvidienus* opportunity to join *Agrippa*, and ſo they made themſelves Maſters of the Paſſes and Defiles, through which the Armies of *Ventidius* and *Pollio* were to march, and *Lucius* not being ſtrong enough to oppoſe them retreated into *Peruſia*, and there expected his Generals. *Cæſar* having news of this ſtrait, made thither and rallied *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* to beſiege *Lucius* in that place. It is ſeated in that Countrey which was formerly called *Hetruria*, and now belongs to the Eccleſiaſtical Dominion; it was ſtrongly ſituated, as being built upon a Hill, which made *Lucius* hope *Cæſar* would ruine his Army by this Siege: he then diſ-

patched *Manius* to *Pollio* and *Ventidius* to oblige them to come to his relief; and at the ſame time ſent out *Triſſinius* with 4000 Horſe to ravage thoſe Towns that were for *Cæſar*. *Pollio* and *Ventidius* were none of the beſt Friends, for each of them would have commanded in chief, neither being willing to ſubmit to his equal. Beſides too, they were not certain what ſentiments *Anthony* would have upon this occaſion of this War, by reaſon *Lucius* had openly declared himſelf an enemy of the Triumvirate. As for *Fulvia*, ſhe was always governed by her own paſſion; ſhe had raiſed Forces under the command of *Plancus*, and by her Letters never ceaſed preſſing *Pollio*, *Ventidius*, *Ateius* and *Calenus* to ſuccour their General's Brother. But there hapned a diſgrace to her, that mortified her extremely, for as ſhe was going to *Rome* to manage ſome new Broil, ſhe met with a Legion of *Cæſar*'s, who charged her Convoy that guarded her, defeated it and took all her equipage. At length *Pollio* and *Ventidius* took a reſolution to advance towards *Peruſia* in two diſtinct Bodies. *Cæſar* having intelligence of their motion, with *Agrippa* marched againſt them, hindred their joining with *Plancus*, and forced *Ventidius* into *Ariminum*, (now *Rimini*) and *Pollio* into *Ravenna*, or according to *Velleius*, into that Iſle where *Venice* now is, and *Plancus* into *Pollentia*, and leaving ſufficient Forces to maintain the ſeveral Blocades he returned to his Siege.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Siege of Perusia. Cæsar *in danger. The extreme misery of the besieged.*

AS *Cæsar* could not pretend to force so great an Army in a place of that importance, so neither would he make a formal Siege of it, but resolved to reduce it by Famine; to this end he drew about it a Line of contravallation of fifty six stadiums in compass, and withall, carried two Trenches to the River *Tibur* to hinder any attempt or relief of the Enemies on that side, this Line he strengthened with a Rampart, flanked with Towers at equal distances, and at his return he sunk the Trenches thirty Foot deep, and covered it with a Wall, upon which he placed wooden Towers, 1500 in number, distant one from the other sixty Foot; and these were all fortified with great Beams, and filled with Archers and Slingers and all sorts of offensive Engines. The besieged strove to hinder these Works by frequent and fierce Sallies, and *Lucius* having abundance of Gladiators with him, had always the better of it when they came to handy-blows; but then *Cæsar*'s Men had the advantage of them by their Artillery and missive Weapons, at which they were very expert. It was in one of these actions that *Cæsar* ran an extreme hazard by a very extra-

ordinary accident. *Lucius* seeing his Provisions daily diminished, resolved to make one great attempt on a famous festival night, believing that the besiegers would be busied in the celebration of it, and by that means be less upon their guard. *Cæsar* was then offering Sacrifice very near the Walls of *Perusia*; the Diviners inspecting the entrails of the Victim, found nothing but fatal presages in them, at which *Cæsar* was much concerned, while at that instant *Lucius*'s Gladiators made a Sally, the Sacrifice was left, the Sacrificers fled, and *Cæsar* had certainly been either slain or taken Prisoner, if the Legion that was upon the guard in the neareſt Trenches had not speedily advanced to his relief; in the mean while the Gladiators carried away the Victim, Entrails and all the preparation of the Sacrifice: these were reinforced and backed by more Troops, so that they charged to the Trenches where the same Legion made head against them; and *Cæsar* rallying some Cohorts of his Guards, charged them in the Flank, and beat them into the Town. Whilst this general distraction was in the Army, for *Cæsar*'s safety, the Diviners alone came to him very joyfull, and told him that *the Gods were propitious to him*, and that *all the misfortune threatned by the ill-boding Entrails of the Victim, concerned onely the Enemies that had them in their possession.* Perhaps *Cæsar* himself did not believe it so, however the thing was well imagined, and adroitly

adroilty turned to re-assure the dismayed Souldiers, and indeed afterwards the event confirmed this prediction. The City of *Rome* had her share in the calamities of this War, Corn was excessive dear, and the rabble that upon these occasions observe no measures nor duty, understanding that *Cæsar*'s Officers had laid up great stores, rose and plundred the Magazines and several of the wealthiest houses in the City. Now *Ventidius*, *Pollio* and *Plancus* believed they were obliged in honour, not to let *Lucius* be any longer besieged, and resolved by agreement to march and force *Cæsar* to a battel or else to raise his siege against them; he detached *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* with a Body, who could not however hinder their joyning and advancing to *Fulsina* distant from *Perusia* 160 Stadiums. *Lucius* having notice of their approach by the Signals they made him in the night by fire was extremely rejoyced at it, not doubting in the least but they would make some great push for his relief. This was indeed the intention of *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, but *Plancus* who always abounded in reasons and cool counsels, when they were to avoid fighting, remonstrated to them, that *Agrippa* who was as strong as they upon their least motion would charge them in the rere, and having *Cæsar* before them there was no avoiding the defeat of their Troops, for which they alone were responsible to *Anthony*; this Counsel which was not without ground,

added to the diſlike they had of *Lucius* his conduct made them think of a retreat, which put the beſieged into utter deſpair, they attempted another Sally though with as little ſucceſs as the former, for all the fight laſted from nine at night till next morning. Then *Lucius* made a review and an inventory of all the proviſions that were in the place, that he might the better diſtribute by meaſure amongſt the Souldiers, without any conſideration of the Slaves, and to hinder them that they ſhould not deſert, he ſet Guards upon them leſt they ſhould inform the enemy of the extreme neceſſity they were in: Theſe poor wretches reduced to this horrible miſery, wandered about the works to ſeek out herbs, graſs and roots, and ſome fed upon the vileſt *Ordurci* which onely ſerved to make an end of them the ſooner, for almoſt all of them died and *Lucius* made them be buried in ditches on heaps, not being willing to burn them, as well for that the beſiegers ſhould not have any notice of it by the fires, as not to corrupt the Air by the ſtench of the burning Bodies. At length the Souldiers preſſed by the want and famine which daily encreaſed, begged him to give them leave to make a general Sally, as deſiring rather to dye with their Arms in their hands, than to periſh by ſo terrible a death as ſtarving. Yet they hoped to behave themſelves ſo gallantly, as to put an end to all their ſufferings by a glorious Victory over their enemies. Immediately

mediately *Lucius* approved of this reſolution of theirs, telling them, *that they had nothing elſe to truſt to now, but either to dye or Conquer*; they reſolved therefore to ſally at break of day to avoid the diſorder that might happen in the dark, and provided good ſtore of iron Crows, Mattocks, Spades and other tools to break *Ceſar*'s wall, and they had Ladders and long Hooks to ſcale the Walls and paſs the Trenches, and ſo oppoſe the enemies Towers, which had beams and timbers in them to fling upon the Walls in the nature of Bridges, with ſuch like preparation theſe brave Souldiers with an amazing reſolution fiercely attacked *Ceſar*'s lines. The ditch was immediately filled up, and the Paliſade pulled down, ſo that they came to the Wall which they undermined on all ſides, while others ſtrove by the help of ſcaling Ladders to get upon it; the rowling Towers advanced, raining a dreadfull ſtorm of Darts and Arrows upon the beſiegers, who were aſtoniſhed at this furious aſſault, for the Souldiers of *Lucius* fought as men reduced to deſpair, death appearing nothing ſo terrible to them as famine, and though they fought with all the diſadvantage imaginable, and though they were ſtruck through with Darts and Arrows, with which the enemies flanked them from the Ramparts; they ſtill vigorouſly employed both Crows and Beams to make a breach in the Wall, openly expoſing themſelves to the enemies ſhot, by which

though great numbers fell, yet the reſt were not in the leaſt diſmayed. By this time the nimbleſt that had mounted the Wall came to handy ſtrokes with the foe, and the battel grew warmer, no body could retreat without falling headlong down, and the beſieged fought with that unexpreſſible fury, that when they wanted arms like wild Beaſts they uſed their hands and teeth, and doubtleſs this obſtinate bravery had gained them an abſolute Victory had the forces been any-ways equal; but *Cæſar* having more men than *Lucius*, he from time to time reinforced them with freſh reſerves, which at laſt beat the tired beſieged with their Engines from off the Wall; theſe gallant men though ſtunned at their fall ſtill clung to the Wall with their hands, and either ſtrove to pull out the ſtones, or elſe by their words encouraged their fellows who ſtill fought. *Lucius* moved at ſo extraordinary a valour and fidelity, and knowing he had very great reaſon to preſerve them, whoſe courage now onely ſerved to deſtroy them, commanded a Retreat to be ſounded: *Cæſars* men immediately gave loud ſhouts of Joy, and according to the *Romans* cuſtome when they gained a Victory ſtruck their Swords againſt their Bucklers, the others raging at this with all haſte and fury got together thoſe Ladders that remained and returned to the attack, reſolved either to carry the Rampart or be buried in the Ditch, if *Lucius* had not withheld them,

and

and by his Prayers and even moving them with his tears made them retreat. At last they obeyed him, though with that regret as cannot be expressed. *Cæsar* at night doubled his Guards and Watches fearing another attack, and gave his orders for the speedy marching of relief in case of necessity. As for the besieged their weariness and vexation scarce gave them leasure to think of placing advanced Guards, so that it gave opportunity to many Souldiers, and several considerable Officers to go over to *Cæsar*.

CHAP. IX.

Lucius *resolves to treat with* Cæsar. *He Harangues his Souldiers, and sends Deputies to* Cæsar.

LUcius finding himself reduced to the utmost extremity, and finding no probability of relief, concluded at last to give way to this cruel necessity, and think of capitulating: He therefore communicated his intentions to his chief Officers, and though among them some particular enemies of *Cæsar* opposed it, yet he persisted in his resolution; but fearing that the Souldiers might deliver him up to *Cæsar*, he drew them together and told them, "That in all this "War he had no other design, but by a-

"bolishing

" boliſhing the Tyranny of the Triumvi-
" rate to ſet his Countrey at liberty, which
" he undertook with more Juſtice, by rea-
" ſon all pretences to this pernicious
" League were ceaſed by the defeat of
" *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; that *Lepidus* had in a
" manner quitted his part of the Empire,
" and *Anthony* in *Aſia* minded nothing but
" his delights and heaping up money, but
" that *Cæſar* alone bouyed up the remains
" of that unjuſt power, which had moved
" him to lay hold on the Troubles occa-
" ſioned by the diſtribution of Lands, to
" reſtore that rightfull Authority to the
" Commonwealth which had been ſo u-
" ſurped from it, and that he had the greater
" obligation upon him to doe it, by rea-
" ſon he was Conſul. But that *Cæſar* to
" overthrow ſo juſt a deſign, had loaded
" him with the ill Will and hatred of all
" the Souldiery, maliciouſly taxing him of
" endeavouring to oppoſe and hinder them
" of the rewards they had deſerved, in fa-
" vour of the Peaſants; that at firſt he
" knew nothing of theſe reports, and that
" when he did he deſpiſed them, that he
" had beſides deputed Commiſſioners to di-
" vide the Lands, and ſo he might have
" hindred the Veteran Souldiers joyning
" *Cæſar*, and fighting againſt their own
" Intereſts, as they would plainly ſee by the
" event: knowing therefore we were rui-
" ned by Famine, not by the Valour of
" our foes, and ſince our Officers abandon

" us;

" us; I could have made uſe of ſeveral " expedients for my own ſecurity, beſides " the ſatisfaction I felt for doing my du- " ty and behaving my ſelf like a man of " honour: But however, this is none of " my intention, I conſult your ſafety be- " fore my own Glory, and am now ſend- " ing to the Conquerour to offer him my " Life and Perſon, provided, in making " me the object of all his hatred and re- " venge, he ſpares you, ye that are *Ro-* " *man* Citizens, ye that have formerly " ſerved under him, and who in maintain- " ing a juſt and noble Cauſe, are not van- " quiſhed by the force of his Arms, but by " extreme Famine. After this diſcourſe, he choſe out three of his chief Commanders to go to *Cæſar*, which the Souldiers ſaw with a great deal of regret, and withall were full of Praiſes of the Vertue and Goodneſs of their General. Theſe Deputies repreſented to *Cæſar*, that as the Souldiers and Officers on both ſides had one and the ſame Countrey, that they were all of them allied to one another, either by kindred or friendſhip, having ſerved together under his Father and under him, the beſieged hoped he would not treat them as objects of his revenge, ſince it was not any averſion againſt him, that made them take up Arms, but out of a motive of pure affection to their Countrey; taking example of thoſe noble *Romans* that were their Anceſtours. To this they added many other reaſons,

ſons, to moderate *Cæſar*'s reſentments. *Cæſar* who was well informed of the ſeveral Intereſts and Inclinations of his Enemies, and knowing that there were ſeveral among them that had never born Arms but againſt him, and others that entred into this party onely to have their ſhare of the Lands, anſwered very diſcreetly, *That he pardoned thoſe who had ſerved under* Anthony, *but as to the others they ſhould yield upon Diſcretion:* this he ſaid in publick, but he privately told *Furnius* one of the Deputies, *That he intended not the leaſt injury to* Lucius *and his Souldiers for what was paſt, but onely to ſome Enemies of his, who out of Malice to him had been the occaſion of all theſe diſorders:* When the Deputies returned to *Peruſia*, all thoſe that judged *Cæſar*'s hate by what they bore him, were extremely enraged with *Furnius*, for his private conference with *Cæſar*. They repreſented to *Lucius*, that they were intended as Victims to *Cæſar*'s cruelty, becauſe he knew their affection to their Countrey, and that they ſhould capitulate for their ſafety, or elſe reſolve all to dye with their Arms in their hands. *Lucius* moved with Compaſſion for ſo many People, ſaw there was a neceſſity of ſending other Deputies, but he knew none more proper than himſelf, and therefore immediately went without taking any hoſtage or caution for his ſecurity. *Cæſar* advertiſed of this went to receive him, and to ſhew his earneſt deſire he had

to

to put an end to this War, was the firſt that came out of his Camp: As ſoon as ever *Lucius* eſpied him, he commanded thoſe that were with him to make a halt, and he alone advanced to the brink of the Ditch. They were both of them clad in their Ornaments of War, and adorned with all the marks of their Dignity; after the firſt complements and actions of Civility; *Lucius* ſpoke after this manner.

CHAP. X.

Lucius *Speech to* Cæſar, *his Anſwer.*

IF I had not the honour to be a Roman *I ſhould now appear full of Confuſion, for being Conquered and yielding upon diſcretion, having that in my hands that would keep me from that ſhame; but after I had fought againſt a* Roman *for the common good of our Countrey, I do not in the leaſt think my ſelf diſhoured by being vanquiſhed by a General that is a* Roman. *I do not ſpeak this to avoid whatever you decree againſt my Perſon, for you ſee I am come alone into the midſt of the Troops to ſurrender my ſelf to your diſpoſal, without any conditions for my ſelf, or demanding any ſecurity, or making any other requeſt than for the pardon of thoſe that have ſerved me in this War; even the reaſonableneſs of the thing may be a motive to it, and your own intereſt*

intereſt requires it: and therefore to convince you throughly of this, I will firſt ſpeak as to my ſelf, and after of thoſe that followed me. I do not pretend to conceal from you, that I alone am the Authour of all that has been acted againſt you, and therefore think it juſt that all the reſentments ſhould light on me, and if I ſeem to make ſome excuſes, 'tis not that I vainly hope for any aſſiſtance from my Brother or his Friends, for that is now too late, but that it is neceſſary you ſhould know the truth which I will not now diſguiſe or palliate. When I undertook this War, my deſign was not to uſurp your Authority, but to re-eſtabliſh that of the Common-wealth oppreſſed by the power of the Triumvirate, and you your ſelf muſt needs yield this truth, ſince by the very Edict of the Triumvirate, you owned your Authority was not lawfull; but that you had this Pretext, that you were forced to take up Arms againſt Brutus *and* Caſſius. *Now they are deſtroyed and none of their party are in a condition to oppoſe you, what pretence have you to be in Arms, unleſs it be to make your ſelves feared and obeyed? I ſaw the five years of your League expired, and hoped to reſtore the Conſular dignity, and the rightfull and lawfull power of the other Magiſtrates. I own that in perſuance of this, I had leſs conſideration for my Brother than the Republick, my intent being to force him if need were at his arrival to concur with me in this deſign, and as I paſſionately deſired this Glorious action ſhould be done in my Conſulſhip, and you might have had*

had the honour of it in renouncing your Authority, but seeing all your motions tended otherwise, I came to Rome *to force you to it, knowing my self a* Roman, *and considerable both by birth and for the Office I bore: these therefore are the true reasons that carried me to take up Arms, and not the Counsels of a* Manius *and* Fulvia, *much less the division of the Lands you allotted the Souldiers that fought at* Philippi, *nor was it any Compassion for those that were driven from their Houses and Inheritances; quite contrary, I had named Commissioners for the distribution, who had order to strain a point in favour of the Souldiers against the Peasants, this however is the pretence you have used to animate the Veteran Souldiers against me, by making them believe I opposed it: it was this that moved them against me, and that has taken away all the Confidence that I had in them, and all the Will they had to serve me, by which I confess you have your own interest in the intention you had of making War with me, and I have mine in declaring War to compass my intent. And since I have put my self into your hands, I do not in the least fear to tell you plainly the true Sense I had and still have of your Conduct, whatever you please to decree against me: It is this as I have already told you, that moved me to come to you my self, and as to what concerns my Kindred, my Friends and my Troops, if you will but take it in good part, I will now give you advice that shall turn both to your Glory and advantage; and*

this is not to ſhew any reſentment for what has paſſed in this difference, but to conſider the unconſtancy of fortune that depends on the chance of War, not to fright the Souldiers by puniſhing them, but by Gentleneſs draw them to ſerve you upon occaſion, as they have already againſt the Conſpiratours, and ſhew them by your uſage of them, that their greateſt ſecurity will be to follow the Conquerour. But if this Counſel is ſuſpected as given by an Enemy, I conjure you not to impute as a fault the fidelity they have ſhewed me, nor the misfortune that has followed it, but to turn all your Vengeance againſt me, as the onely cauſe of theſe ills: it was this that obliged me to ſpeak to you in private, to take away all the ſuſpicion they might have had, that in ſeeming to affect ſpeaking for their intereſt and ſafety I might onely conſult my own. This diſcourſe that ſhewed a reſolution and greatneſs of Soul, worthy of an ancient *Roman* was not very pleaſing to *Cæſar*, but he took care not to teſtifie all his reſentment againſt him, that was the brother of *Anthony*, whom for ſeveral reaſons he was obliged to have a conſideration for. As he had a great preſence of mind and a ready Wit, he thus anſwered him. *As ſoon as I underſtood you came to me, I advanced out of my Camp to meet you, to give you full liberty of explaining your Thoughts; the Submiſſion you have ſhewn in yielding your ſelf to me as thoſe ought to doe, that are touched with remorſe, keeps me from remarking the Crimes you unjuſtly charge*

charge me with, and the diſguiſing ſo many known truths, though this diſcourſe of yours injures me more than your former Actions; but ſince you frankly give me up both your ſelf, your Friends and your Troops, this generous proceeding hinders me from acting what I ought, both as Conquerour and injured. You have by this quite diſarmed my Choler and my Power: I therefore return you yours in letting you enjoy the conditions of our former agreement, though the Law of Arms might oblige you to obey without reſiſtence, the Will of the Vanquiſher. I will however doe what is worthy of me, and for the reſpect I owe the Gods, my Dignity and your own Perſon, which ſo nobly you abandon to me, I will not at all betray the truſt you have placed in my Goodneſs and Clemency. As theſe diſcourſes are not Fictitious or merely Ornamental, and that *Appian* who reports them, aſſures he took them out of very faithfull Memoirs which remained concerning this War, it is hoped the length of them will not be diſpleaſing, what intention ſoever there were of not being engaged in the recital of Speeches.

CHAP. XI.

Lucius *and* Cæſar *part.* Lucius *delivers up the Town.* Cæſar *ſpeaks to the beſieged Souldiers with indignation, he puniſhes the Senatours of* Peruſia, *the Town is pillaged and by accident burnt.* Tiberius *continues the War in the Kingdom of* Naples, *from whence he is driven by* Cæſar.

THE two Generals parted well enough ſatisfied with each other in appearance. *Cæſar* could not forbear praiſing *Lucius* his great courage, which all his misfortunes had not been able to abate. *Lucius* above all things eſteemed *Cæſar's* great moderation, and his manner of expreſſing things of ſuch moment in ſo few words; he commanded all his Officers to go and receive their Orders from *Cæſar*, and carry him their muſter Rolls, as was uſual with the *Romans*, who when they took Orders from the General always ſhewed the muſter Rolls of the Legions. *Cæſar* in giving it out commanded them on their ſide to keep a Guard, and he did the like on his. The next morning by break of day he offered Sacrifice, and *Lucius* marched out his Troops in good order, who ſaluted *Cæſar* as far as they could diſcern him: He commanded them to halt upon the ground he ſhewed them, the old Legions who demanded their ſhare of the Inheritances on one ſide, and the

the new raiſed ones on the other. The Sacrifice ended, *Cæſar* crowned with Laurel mounted on a Tribunal, and commanded all the vanquiſhed Souldiers to lay down their Arms; he then reproached the ingratitude of the old Legions with terrible threats, and though they had notice before he would doe ſo, it filled them all with fear. *Cæſar*'s Souldiers, whether by permiſſion of their General, or moved with Pity at their dejected Companions, advanced to them, and embracing them with tears begged mercy for them. *Cæſar* as very much moved, fiercely told them, *they always oppoſed his Intentions, and though in truth he knew them to be very brave, yet he would fain know of them what injury they had received from him, or what advantage they hoped for from his Enemies, that ſhould make them bear Arms againſt his Perſon, his Souldiers, and indeed againſt themſelves, ſince he onely laboured for their intereſt; but that he would not inſiſt upon this any farther, and therefore in conſideration of his Souldiers he pardoned them, and for the future would not look upon them as Enemies, but Souldiers that would follow none but himſelf.* This Speech was followed by general ſhouts of Praiſes and Acclamations; he then ordered his Officers to receive thoſe of *Lucius* into their Tents, and his Souldiers to encamp where they were, till he had reſolved upon what part to ſend them to, and what Officers ſhould command them. Afterwards

wards without coming down from his Tribunal, he ſent to *Lucius* to come out of *Peruſia*: This Conſul then appeared a little after accompanied by his Lieutenants, and all the Senatours that were of his party, who were very much caſt down at this revolution. *Cæſar*'s Troops entred *Peruſia*, and ſeized upon all the Poſts and places of Arms: he cauſed *Lucius* to ſeat himſelf by him, and his chief Officers received all the Senatours with orders to uſe them well, but withall to look well after them. In the mean time the Inhabitants of the Town were upon the Walls, from whence with lamentable Cries they ſued for pardon. *Cæſar* ordered they ſhould all come forth, except thoſe that compoſed the Council of the City, and it was againſt theſe that he employed all his vengeance and ſeverity; it is ſaid, that when they were brought before him laden with Chains and begging for mercy, he replyed onely theſe terrible words, *Ye muſt die*, and then made three hundred of them be ſlain as Victims near an Altar, erected in honour of his Father upon the Ides of *March* the ſame day he was murthered; one onely named *Lucius Emilius* was ſpared, becauſe being at *Rome* after the murther of *Julius Cæſar*, he counſelled the Conſpiratours ſhould be put to death. The Town was going to be pillaged, when one of the nobleſt Inhabitants called *Macedonicus*, put fire to his own houſe and ſtabbed himſelf; this fire carried on by a high

high wind ſpread it ſelf from houſe to houſe, and in leſs than an hour laid all *Peruſia* in aſhes, except the Temple of *Vulcan*. *Appian* reports, that this *Macedonicus* was one of *Lucius* his Souldiers named *Ceſtius*, who had this Sirname given him, becauſe he had ſerved a long time in *Macedon*: Thus ended this fatal War which threatned *Italy* with utter deſolation. For although *Pollio*, *Ventidius*, *Plancus*, and other Commanders of *Anthony* had ſtill thirteen Legions and fifteen hundred Horſe, whether it were that there was no good underſtanding among them, or that they did not approve of *Lucius* his Conduct, they all withdrew and retired themſelves; ſome to *Brunduſium*, as *Plancus*, who left the two Legions he commanded to *Agrippa*, others to *Tarentum*, and ſome to *Ravenna*. *Pollio* alone made an honourable Retreat, and went and joyned himſelf to *Domitius*. *Fulvia* deſperate with theſe misfortunes ſaved her ſelf at *Brunduſium*, and from thence paſſed over into *Macedon*. *Tiberius* maintained the remainders of the party a long time after near *Naples*. He was a man illuſtrious for his Family, but much more conſiderable for his Valour and Wit; he had been Pretor, and was then High Prieſt, yet his name had remained in Oblivion had it not been for his marriage with *Livia*: She was of a noble Family, a branch of the *Claudian* entred by Adoption into the *Livian*. She was Miſtreſs of abundance of Vertue and Beauty, but of

much more agreeableneſs and addreſs. The Friendſhip of *Tiberius* with *Lucius* had engaged him to his party, and his defeat had not diſcouraged him, he endeavoured all he could to repair this misfortune, even to ſet Slaves free and make them Souldiers: *Cæſar* to quench this fire in the beginning marched towards *Naples* with diligence, and attacked *Tiberius* ſo briskly, that all he could doe was to ſave himſelf in *Sicily*. One may here with *Velleius* reflect upon the ſtrange turns of Fortune, which may learn us, that as to what regards the future, fears are often as falſe as hopes. *Livia* flying the fury of *Cæſar* waited on onely by one ſervant, and carrying her Son in her Armes after ſhe had made prodigious eſcapes from danger, was forced to get into a little Boat to get to her Husband; her Son who was then but two years old had like to have been the innocent cauſe of death to her that gave him life, by diſcovering twice by his crying. This extremity of theirs, and the ſmall hopes they had of *Cæſar*'s Clemency gave them but very ſlender hopes: However, after the return of *Tiberius* to *Italy* by the Treaty made with *Pompey*, *Livia* was ſo fortunate by her beauty to Conquer the heart of *Cæſar*; he married her and loved her paſſionately to the very day of his death: And this Woman, whom *Caligula* was wont to call *Ulyſſes* in Petty-coats, ſo well knew how to manage *Cæſar*'s Temper by her cunning, that ſhe obtained of him the Empire for her Son.

Since

Since therefore there appeared no Enemy in *Italy* after the defeat of *Tiberius*, *Cæſar* went to *Rome*, where he entred in Triumphant Robes, and Crowned with Laurel. There were celebrated publick Feaſts, and it was ordained, that whatever General ſhould hereafter merit the Honour of Triumph and ſhould be Crowned, that *Ceſar* ſhould have a ſhare in all his Honours.

CHAP. XII.

The diverſions of Anthony *and* Cleopatra. *The Prodigality of their Entertainments. The ingenuity of* Cleopatra.

ANthony was ſtill fixed at *Alexandria* by the Charms of *Cleopatra*, and thought of nothing but enjoying thoſe Pleaſures, ſhe every day preſented him with, in ſome new and delightfull ſhape: Never did any one poſſeſs like her the Art of refining and heightning them by the Charms of Novelty. She introduced them in the moſt ſerious buſineſs, and even the moſt inconſiderable trifles when managed by her, received ſuch an Air as made them agreeable Diverſions; ſo that whether they played or treated one another, or hunted, this Queen ſtill made one, and was the Soul of all intermingling by ſome lively piece of Wit. She would often run about the Town with *Anthony* in diſguiſe, and go into Tradeſmens ſhops, and jeer and ſcold with them, where they

they many times met with very pleasant replies, and sometimes blows. 'Twas on these occasions that *Cleopatra* shewed all her Gayety and Wit, whether it were in maintaining or retorting Raillery, or in telling the story of such Adventures, with an unparallel'd grace: these ways however were very odious, and disgustfull to the graver and soberer sort of People. But the *Egyptians* who in general have a great deal of Wit, were not at all displeased with this familiar Carriage of theirs, and said pleasantly, *that* Anthony *shewed them his Comical Countenance, and kept a Tragical one for the* Romans. The Queen had besides invented a Society, they called the Inimitable life, and those who made the most sumptuous Entertainments carried away the Prize. The expence of these Treats were excessive, as appears by these two examples. A Greek Physician Friend to *Anthony*'s Clerk of the Kitchin, came one day where the Meat was dressing, and among abundance of other provisions, he saw eight whole wild Boars a-roasting; he imagined that these were making ready for a great number of Guests, and asking his Friend, he told him smiling, *that there were to be but twelve at this Feast, but that the exact hour being uncertain, and the Meat to be served at a punctual nick of time, when it was exquisitely drest, and that being past, others of the same kind were prepared to be ready when called for.* This Physician being afterwards in the ser-

vice

vice of *Anthony*'s eldeſt Son, was one day at his Dinner, whither there came a canting kind of Mountebank, who as it's uſual with ſuch ſort of Fellows, tired every body with the impertinence of his talk; the Phyſician put him this Argument, *there is ſome kind of Ague, wherein cold Water is good. All thoſe that have Agues, have ſome kind of Ague, therefore cold water is good for all thoſe that have Agues.* The Quack remained ſilent and non-pluſt, and *Anthony*'s Son was ſo pleaſed with it that he ſaid to the Phyſician, *I give thee*, Philotas, *for this Jeſt all that thou ſeeſt there, pointing to a Cupboard of golden Plates of a great value. Philotas* thanked him for this favour, believing he was onely obliged to him for his Good will. But he was very much ſurprized the next day, when he ſaw the rich Veſſels brought home to his houſe by Slaves, followed by an Officer of the young Prince, who bid him put his mark upon them, and as he excuſed himſelf out of a belief ſome inconvenience might happen to him, what ſays the Officer to him, *do not you know that he who makes you this Preſent is the Son of* Anthony? But however, *If you will take my Counſel accept rather of the value in Money, for it may happen, that his Father may be concerned for the loſs of ſome of them, becauſe they are antick, and of the hands of excellent Maſters.* The other example did not happen at this time, but yet it fitteth our ſubject too well to be omitted. *Anthony* by that time he returned

returned from the Parthian War, was grown a great proficient in the *Ægyptian* sumptuousness and Luxury, and daily carried it on with greater delicacy and expence; yet *Cleopatra* affected being nauseated, and looked upon his Entertainments with a despising Air, onely to oblige him to ask her, as he did, *What she could add to the Magnificence of his Treats.* I will said she, *give you one* 52000 *l.* *that shall cost* 10000 *Sesterces*; he judged the thing impossible, and out of pure curiosity would lay a Wager with her of a considerable Sum. Next day she made a noble Feast, but it had nothing in it extraordinary. *Anthony* then believed it was his turn to Rally her, and already demanded his Wager, when the Queen desired him not to be so hasty, that this was but the first Course, and that she would sup alone on that Sum; bring in said she the second Course, they brought in onely a golden Cup filled with a very strong dissolving Vinegar. *Anthony* was waiting all this while for the end of this Mystery. *Cleopatra* had two Pearls for her Pendants of an inestimable price, never was there any thing seen more beautifull, either for the water, the largeness, or the shape of them. She then took off one and put it into the Cup, which when it was immediately dissolved she drank it up. *Plancus* that was judge of the Wager, presently laid hold on the other which she was taking off, and condemned *Anthony* to loose the Wager, who was extremely troubled

bled for the loſs of ſuch a Jewel. The remaining Pearl after the death of *Cleopatra* came into the hands of *Cæſar*, who cauſed it to be cut aſunder, and made of it two Pendants for the image of *Venus*, which he thought gloriouſly adorned with half of this prodigal Queen's ſupper. In this manner did this witty *Ægyptian* Charm this great man, delightfully carrying him from one Pleaſure to another, and as ſhe had an admirable turn of Wit, ſhe ſometimes changed her pleaſantneſs into an agreeable ſerious Moral. *Anthony* loved Fiſhing, but had never any good luck, and he ſeemed to be troubled at it, which indeed was a very pleaſant ſubject for a man of his Character; but in this he was of the Humour of all Lovers, who are out of all patience when they doe any thing ill before thoſe they love, and *Cleopatra* as has been ſaid was at all his Diverſions; he made ſome Divers go under water and faſten Fiſh they had ready to his hooks, in this manner he pulled up his line two or three times well loaden, with an extreme ſatisfaction. The Queen though ſhe ſoon underſtood that trick, ſeemed to admire his good fortune: She laught heartily at it at night among her Favorites, and invited them to the ſame ſport the next day, every one came and they took Boat to begin to Fiſh. *Anthony* threw out his line and preſently felt it loaded, over-joyed he plucked it up, but was ready to fall down for ſhame, when he ſaw a piece of old Salt-

fiſh

fiſh at his hook, which the Divers had faſtned to it by *Cleopatra's* order, every body laughed at this pleaſant adventure, and the Queen ingeniouſly told him, *Leave, my Lord, the Line and Nets to us* Ægyptians; *fiſhing is our buſineſs, who are Sovereigns of* Pharos *and* Canopus, *yours is to take Cities, Provinces and Kings.*

CHAP. XIII.

Anthony *receives the news of his Brother's defeat. He reſolves for War, and makes an alliance with* Pompey. Cæſar *marries* Scribonia. *The death of* Fulvia. Anthony *is Maſter of* Domitius *his Fleet which yields to him.*

THere was more than need of ſuch important News as he then received to draw *Anthony* from the Charms that held him ſo ſure; he underſtood that his Brother had been overthrown by *Cæſar*, that his Wife and all his Friends had quitted *Italy*, that *Cæſar* had made himſelf Maſter of *Gaul* which belonged to him, and that he had conſtrained the Son of *Calenus* after the death of his Father to deliver him up eleven Legions which he commanded in that Province. From another part they ſent him word, that the Parthians under the command of *Pacorus* their King's Son, aſſiſted by *Labienus* and *Barzapharnes* had made themſelves

themſelves Maſters of *Syria*. That *Antigonus* the Brother of *Hircanus* High Prieſt of the Jews, had brought them to *Jeruſalem*, which they ſackt, and carried away Priſoners, *Hircanus* and *Phaſactus*, and *Herod*'s brother who was himſelf fled into the mountains of *Judea*. Theſe ſucceſſes ſo diſadvantagious to *Anthony*'s affairs made him think of War, and to this end he got together two hundred Ships, his intent was immediately to fall upon his Enemies; but the earneſt inſtances of *Fulvia* and his Friends forced him to turn toward *Italy*. He went from *Alexandria* to *Tyre*, from whence paſſing by the Iſles of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes* he came to *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*: He was extraordinary angry at what had happened, and above all with *Manius*, whom he accuſed as the cauſe of all theſe diſorders. *Libo*, *Pompey*'s Father in-Law, with *Saturninus* and ſome other Senatours, tryed to make a League between theſe two Generals, for that *Pompey* had received *Julia Anthony*'s Mother with a great deal of reſpect, he told them, *that he was extremely obliged to* Pompey *for his Civility, and that he would let ſlip no occaſion of returning it, and that he would joyn Intereſts with him if* Cæſar *came to an open breach, but that if he kept to the Agreement they had made, he would engage* Cæſar *to grant him his Friendſhip.* *Cæſar* advertiſed of his intentions was very willing to it, but withall forgot nothing that might make for his own intereſt. He under-

derhand animated the *Veterans* againſt *Anthony*, under pretence that *Pompey* who was engaged with him, would hinder them of their rewards which they enjoyed: though they had reaſon to believe that *Pompey* would doe ſo, yet the reputation that *Anthony* had gained at the Battel of *Philippi*, made them have a great Veneration for his Valour; ſo that though *Cæſar* knew himſelf ſtronger at Land, than both *Anthony* and *Pompey* joyned together, having no leſs than forty Legions, yet as he was not well aſſured of the affection of his Souldiers, and that he wanted ſhips of which they had great ſtore; he thought it convenient to hearken to an accommodation. *Scribonia* the Siſter of *Libo* was a rich Widow, very conſiderable for the Dignity of the two Husbands ſhe had had, but ſhe was one of thoſe perverſe Women, whoſe uneaſie vexatious Pride is a great plague to a Husband. *Cæſar* did not ſtick at preferring her before the faireſt and nobleſt Ladies of *Rome*, that he might gain the Friendſhip of *Libo* who eſteemed himſelf very much honoured by this alliance, and ſent his free Conſent from *Sicily*. Among the Legions of *Cæſar* there were ſix, who were very affectionate to *Anthony*'s intereſt; and as *Lepidus* lived now in *Italy* as a private Perſon, *Cæſar* made as if it were unbecoming the Majeſty of the Triumviri, and ſo ſent him to *Africa*, the Government whereof was deſigned for him, with theſe ſix Legions. After he had got rid of *Lepidus* and the ſuſ-

pected

pected Legions, he ſet himſelf to flatter *Lucius*, and in all their Diſcourſes praiſed his great Courage and his Zeal for his Countrey, and finding he valued himſelf very much upon this particular, even to the ſaying that he was ready to take up Arms againſt his own Brother, if he would not ſubmit his Authority to that of the Commonwealth, he gave him very great praiſes for this high piece of Gallantry, and ſaid it was not reaſonable he ſhould be employed againſt his own Fleſh and Bloud, and to that end deſired him to go and Command in *Spain*, but gave him ſuch Lieutenants, as in effect were real Guards upon him. The merit and Character of *Cæſar*, was very extraordinary, and the World muſt own that he is with all Juſtice ranked among the greateſt Princes that ever were. *Suetonius* and the reſt of the Hiſtorians give ſufficient teſtimony of it; but they have none of them penetrated to the bottom of this exquiſite Politician's deſigns, which in this place appear in their greateſt excellency, and contributed full as much to his Riſe as his own proper deſerts: 'tis true indeed that this great Cunning was joined with great Vertues and very noble Qualities, for without them it wou'd be but a kind of ſordid Craft, which commonly raiſes men onely for their greater confuſion. *Anthony*, informed of theſe Tranſactions, advanced towards *Italy*, without ſhewing the leaſt concern for *Fulvia* whom he left ſick at *Si-*

cyonia; this laſt neglect and ſcorn of her Husband finiſhed what his infidelity had begun, ſhe was not able to bear ſo many misfortunes at once, but dyed in that City lamented by very few. *Anthony* was now in a very great perplexity. *Domitius* cruzed the *Ionian* Seas with a Fleet much more powerfull than his, and there was a neceſſity of fighting his paſſage. At * *Corfu* they met, and here *Anthony* ſhewed that all the delights of *Ægypt* had not in the leaſt diminiſhed that great courage which he had ſignalized in ſo many actions. He commanded his whole Fleet to lye by upon their Oars, and with five Gallies onely made up to that of *Domitius*. *Plancus*, who was none of the braveſt, by no means approved of this conduct of his, terming it an extravagant piece of raſhneſs; telling *Anthony*, It was impoſſible that ever *Domitius* wou'd be his friend, who had been engaged in the Conſpiracy againſt *J. Caſar*. In the mean time the Veſſels ſtood their courſe notwithſtanding all his politick reaſons, and he was ready to dye with fear to ſee himſelf almoſt in the midſt of an Enemy's Fleet that came up in a fighting poſture. One of *Anthony*'s Guards, who ſtood upon the Prow of his Gally, fiercely called to thoſe of *Domitius* to ſtrike their Flag to *Anthony*, who was of a higher quality than their Commander in chief. They immediately obeyed; and after they had with loud ſhouts and all tokens of reſpect ſaluted him General.

* *Corcyra.*

neral, drew up round *Anthony*. The Souldiers on both ſides ſaluted each other, and *Domitius* himſelf came on board *Anthony*, and delivered him up the command of his Fleet. In this manner *Appian* relates this action. But *Velleius* with more probability ſays, it was thus managed by an Intrigue of *Pollio*'s, who by this acquitted himſelf of all the Obligations he owed to *Anthony*. The two Fleets being join'd came to an Anchor at *Palante*, a Town in *Epirus*, from whence they ſtood over to *Brunduſium*.

CHAP. XIV.

Anthony *arrives at* Brunduſium. *He is refuſed entrance. The* Veterans *force* Cæſar *and him to agree. They come to a Treaty by the mediation of* Cocceius. Anthony *marrys* Octavia. *The Puniſhment and Death of* Salvidienus.

IN this City *Cæſar* had five Legions which ſhut the Gates againſt *Anthony*, and ſtood upon their guard, not againſt him they ſaid, but *Domitius*, *Cæſar*'s declared Enemy; upon this refuſal, he made himſelf Maſter of the Haven and Iſles, and blocked up the Place. This Town is almoſt encompaſſed with the Sea, except one avenue on the Land ſide, which *Anthony* defended by a Trench fortified by many Towers. He ſent to *Pompey*, to advance with his Forces and

enter *Italy*. *Anthony*'s Troops beſides took *Sigionte* in *Auſonia*, and *Pompey* beſieged the Cities of *Thuria* and *Coſance*. *Cæſar* marched with his Army in all haſte, after he had detached *Agrippa*, againſt *Pompey*. *Agrippa* re-took *Sigionte*, and beat *Pompey* from *Thuria*. The *Veterans* were vexed at this War, and while they were drawn together by order of *Cæſar* to goe againſt *Pompey*, as ſoon as they knew *Anthony* and he were joined, they refuſed to march. *Cæſar*, though he found they were ſo diſtaſted, made them follow him, which they did but onely out of a deſign to come to an agreement. In the mean time *Anthony* had ſent for his Army from *Macedonia* and hardly preſſed the beſieged. He had beſides manned ſeveral Veſſels with Peaſants and uſeleſs People, and brought them into the Port of *Brunduſium* which did much intimidate the beſieged, thinking he had been re-inforced with conſiderable Succours. He had here a misfortune which yet he fully repaired by his Valour. *Servilius*, one of his Officers, with 1200 Horſe which he commanded, went over to *Cæſar*. *Anthony* received this News as he was at Table; he with all his friends that were with him immediately roſe, and march'd with onely 400 Horſe to *Iria*, where *Cæſar* had placed a body of Cavalry of 1500. Theſe men, aſtoniſhed with the preſence of *Anthony*, whom by reaſon of the Victory of *Philippi* they believed invincible, yielded

yielded to him, and he brought them to his Camp. The advanced Parties on both ſides came up to the very Works, and reproached each other: at length *Cæſar*'s Souldiers declared to *Anthony*'s that they were come thither to no other end than to oblige their two Generals to a Peace; and that if *Anthony* would not yield to it, though they had always a great veneration for his Valour, yet they were too much obliged to *Cæſar*, not to ſerve him till death. As *Anthony* very well knew their Valour and Experience; theſe Diſcourſes made him ſeriouſly reflect upon the Conſequences of theſe Jarrs. It hapned, the year before, *Cæſar* had ſent to him *Cocceius* and *Cecinna*; the former of theſe was a very wiſe, well-meaning man, and equally obliged to *Anthony* and *Cæſar*; he eaſily foreſaw there might ariſe ſome difference between them; he therefore ſent back *Cecinna*, and ſtaid himſelf with *Anthony*. When they came to *Brunduſium*, he asked permiſſion to return to *Cæſar*, offering to carry any Letter from him. *Anthony* refuſed to write, telling him, *That* Cæſar *was his Enemy, That he had nothing to ſend to him but Reproaches for his foul dealing, which he had already told him by* Cecinna: however added laughing, *If you pleaſe, I'll ſend twice as many Letters by you to the ſame purpoſe. Cocceius* anſwered, *That he ought not to account* Cæſar *his Enemy who had had ſo much conſideration for his brother* Lucius *and his other*

friends. 'Tis then, replied *Anthony*, *out of pure friendſhip that he ſhuts the Gates of* Brunduſium *againſt me, debauches my Souldiers, and ſeizeth upon the Provinces that are fallen to my ſhare; for, as to his Civilities, we underſtand the motives of them well enough; he uſes my friends well, that by his ſelf-intereſted Liberalities he may make them my Enemies. Cocceius* finding him too much moved, would inſiſt upon it no longer, but went to *Cæſar*, who appeared amazed at his return and reproached him with his long ſtay among his Enemies. After ſome Excuſes, which *Cæſar* took in good part, *Cocceius* laid before him the Reaſons *Anthony* pretended he had to complain of him, upon which *Cæſar* to clear himſelf ſaid, *He had not taken the Command of the Army from the Son of* Calenus, *a young man and unexperienced, but onely to hinder the deſign of* Lucius, *who intended to re-eſtabliſh the Authority of the Common-wealth; and that it was contrary to his Orders that the Gates of* Brunduſium *were ſhut againſt him; but that thoſe who commanded there thought they were obliged to it, ſeeing* Anthony *allied with* Pompey *their common Enemy, and accompanied with* Domitius *one of the Aſſaſſines of his Father* Julius, *and who had declared himſelf his Enemy by ſeveral acts of hoſtility. Cocceius* anſwered, *It was true, that by their Treaty they engaged themſelves not to enter into any Alliance with the Murtherers of* Julius Cæſar, *and that* Anthony *had not, neither would*

would he ever forget the reſpect he owed to his memory; that Domitius *was none of the Conſpiracy, not being named in the Decree made againſt them: It was true indeed, he had followed* Brutus; *but if he intended to call in queſtion all thoſe that had done the like, he would have enough to doe: As for* Pompey, Anthony *had not called him to the War but for his aſſiſtence in caſe he were attacked, or to bring them to accommodation, if he found* Cæſar *diſpoſed to it.* That beſides, *He thought himſelf obliged to tell him, that he himſelf was partly the cauſe of their joining, by his making War with the friends of* Anthony *in* Italy, *without which, none durſt ever have entertained any correſpondence with* Pompey. Says *Cæſar* then, *ſince you ſpeak of* Italy, *you ſhould not forget the War that* Fulvia *and* Manius *kindled againſt me, though all this while* Pompey *had never the courage to enterpriſe any thing upon this Countrey, onely now he ravages the Coaſts, backed with the aſſiſtence of* Anthony. *There is,* replies *Cocceius, ſomething more than this, which I will not offer to conceal from you, 'Tis not the Encouragement of* Anthony *that gives* Pompey *this boldneſs; 'Tis his poſitive and particular Command: He has order to make a deſcent, and land his whole Army, which is very conſiderable, and not barely to amuſe himſelf to ſpoil the Sea coaſts, but bring the War into the very heart of* Italy, *if you do not quickly make Peace.* Cæſar ſaw well enough whither theſe Diſcourſes tended, and did

not in the leaſt take it amiſs from *Cocceius*; he onely told him that *Pompey* had not yet any reaſon to value himſelf for his brave Exploits. *Cocceius* then told him of the Death of *Fulvia*, cauſed by her vexation, and the neglect and ſcorn of her Husband; and added that, this Obſtacle being removed, there wanted nothing but to come to a clear underſtanding of each other, to make a perfect Reconciliation. *Cæſar* kept *Cocceius* at Supper, and made him lodge with him, but he could not be prevailed upon to write to *Anthony*; he onely complained of *Julia*, becauſe ſhe choſe rather to retire into *Sicily*, than give him an opportunity of ſhewing her the reſpect he always had for her, as being his Kinſwoman; and that he would honour her no leſs than his own Mother: he prayed *Cocceius* to aſſure *Julia* of his Sentiments to her, and ſo ſent him back to *Anthony*: as he went, he ſaw *Cæſar*'s chief Officers and many old Souldiers, who all teſtified the earneſt deſire they had of an Accommodation, becauſe they were not willing to bear Arms againſt *Anthony*: he therefore informed him of the Intentions of *Cæſar*'s Souldiers, and adviſed him to cauſe *Pompey* to retire to his Iſland, and ſend away *Domitius*. *Julia* by her Authority ſeconded his Councils, ſo that *Anthony* deſired *Pompey* to carry back his Troops to *Sicily*, and ſent *Domitius* to command in *Bithynia*: Upon this the Souldiers of both Armies named three

three Commiſſioners to mediate the Accommodation. *Pollio* was appointed on *Anthony*'s ſide, *Mecœnas* by *Cæſar*, and *Cocceius* who had the greateſt ſhare in this negotiation, had the honour to be the Arbitratour. *Mecœnas*, ſo well known by the praiſes of *Virgil* and *Horace*, was a Gentleman of an exquiſite well-turned wit, of a very gentle taking humour, his merit joined with expertneſs in buſineſs made him be much loved by *Cæſar*, whoſe favour he ſhared with *Agrippa*. The latter rendred himſelf conſiderable by his great ſervices, the former by his wit; the one had his eſteem, the other his affection. *Mecœnas* was of an illuſtrious race, which he derived from the ancient Kings of *Hetruria*, however he contented himſelf with the degree of a *Roman* Knight, making all the end of his Ambition to merit the Favour of his Maſter, and protect and advance deſert wherever he found it. The teſtimonies of this generous and bountifull diſpoſition are ſeen with admiration in the Works of the greateſt Men of his Age; he heaped his Liberalities upon them to that degree till they were obliged to ſay, they had nothing more to wiſh for: this Generoſity of his has appeared ſo great an example to thoſe that have pretended to be eminent for wit or learning, that in all Ages ſince, their Protectours have been honoured with the Name of this illuſtrious *Roman*, to excite them to follow his Example. The Mediatours had order to propoſe

propoſe to the two Generals a perfect Oblivion of all matters of complaint; to enter into a perpetual firm Bond of friendſhip; and to eſtabliſh it yet more by the tyes of bloud, the Souldiers deſired *Anthony* ſhould marry *Octavia*, *Caſar*'s ſiſter: ſhe was the Widow of *Marcellus*, by whom ſhe had a Son who afterward dyed very young, when his merit and vertues were preparing for him the Government of the World, by ſucceeding *Auguſtus* in the Empire: It was of him that *Virgil* ſaid, the Deſtinies had onely ſhewn him to the Earth, and taken him away, fearing leſt *Rome* ſhould have had too much vanity for the poſſeſſion of ſo much good. *Cæſar* had an extreme love and tenderneſs for his Siſter, though they were not by the ſame Mother; and, to doe her juſtice, never any of her ſex deſerved ſo much eſteem for her excellent qualities: her beauty was the leaſt thing that *Octavia* prized in her ſelf, which yet outſhined all that was glorious both at *Rome* and elſewhere, and even *Anthony* himſelf yielded that *Cleopatra* could not diſpute even this with her: ſhe onely valued her ſelf upon her vertue, all her Sentiments were generous and noble; and though all her actions were animated by an incomparable grace and carriage, yet her greateſt charm was ſweetneſs and modeſty, this gallant Character ſhe always maintained with a moſt admirable conſtancy notwithſtanding all the debauches of her Husband. All

theſe

theſe Conditions of the Treaty were agreed to; *Cæſar* and *Anthony* had an enterview and embraced in the middle of the two Armies, who by their Acclamations teſtified their Joy for it: but theſe rejoycings laſted not long, for *Cæſar*'s Souldiers addreſſed to *Anthony* for the recompences he had promiſed them after the Battel of *Philippi*, and becauſe he gave them a fierce denial and repulſe, they had uſed ſome violence to him, if *Cæſar* with large Promiſes had not appeaſed them. Theſe two Generals then made a new Diviſion. *Anthony* had all the Provinces of the Eaſt to *Euphrates*, from a line drawn through the middle of the *Ionian* Sea, from *Cadropolis* a City of *Illyria* to *Cyrene* in *Africk*; all from that line to the Ocean fell to *Cæſar*. *Lepidus* remained in poſſeſſion of *Africk*. It was concluded, that *Anthony* ſhould make War with the *Parthians* and *Cæſar* with *Pompey*, if he refuſed to ſubmit to reaſonable conditions; that *Cæſar* ſhould give *Domitius* the ſame aſſurance that *Anthony* had, and pardon all thoſe that had born Arms againſt him at *Peruſia*. This plainly manifeſts that in a Civil War, the Heads for the moſt part conſider their own Intereſts, by which alone they regulate their hatred or their friendſhip. To theſe Conditions they added alſo that the *Triumviri* might in *Italy* levy as many Souldiers as they had occaſion for. *Anthony* ſent *Ventidius* againſt the *Parthians*, and *Helenus*, *Cæſar*'s freed-man, went into *Sardinia*, where *Menas*

nas made War with *Lucius*, *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant. *Menas* had already deſtroyed and ſpoiled the Coaſts of * *Hetruria*, and taken *Titius*, who was gathering Forces in *Gallia Narbonenſis*. *Pompey* pardoned *Titius* in favour of his Father who was with him in *Sicilia*, and becauſe his had the name of *Pompey* written on their ſhields; but afterwards we ſhall ſee that *Titius* requited this favour with a piece of horrible ingratitude. As for *Menas*, after ſome skirmiſhes, he beat *Lucius* and took *Helenus*, whom with the other Priſoners he ſent to *Cæſar*; but he, provoked with the loſs of *Sardinia*, would not hear of any Accommodation with *Pompey*. The two *Triumviri* went to *Rome*, where *Anthony* married *Octavia* with a diſpenſation of the Senate, becauſe Widows were forbid to marry till the tenth month after their Husbands deceaſe. All Reconciliations between great Men are ever made at ſome body's coſt; whether it is they imagine their confidence to be more firmly eſtabliſhed by theſe Sacrifices they make one another, or that a Secret is burthenſome to them, or that they vent their common fury and diſcontent upon ſome unfortunate perfidious perſon, who by taking his meaſures on both ſides, and Trimming, thinks to make his fortune; but ſo it was, that *Salvidienus* was the Victim of this Reconciliation. *Anthony* revealed to *Cæſar*, that this Man had offered him his Troops and his Service when he ſent him into *Gall*, and

* *Tuſcany.*

and had repeated these Offers to him at *Brundusium*. *Cæsar*, mortally offended at this perfidiousness, accused him before the Senate; he was by it declared Foe to *Cæsar* and the People of *Rome*, and dragged to punishment; there were publick Prayers made and Thanks given to the Gods for the discovery of this Treason. *Anthony* was blamed for discovering this, and censured for being too fond of a new-made friendship: he on his part would make his Justice remarkable in putting *Manius* to death, who had been the principal Authour of the War of *Perusia* and Instigatour of the ungovern'd Passions of *Fulvia*.

CHAP. XV.

Rome *afflicted with Famine*; *the People mutiny against* Anthony *and* Cæsar; *they agree with* Pompey; *his Generosity*.

THE People of *Rome* had but very little share in the rejoicing for this marriage; they were reduced to a very great extremity by the dearth of Corn. *Pompey* who was Master of *Sicilia* hindred the traffick and importation from *Greece* and the East, and his Lieutenants in *Sardinia* stopp'd that of *Africk* and *Spain*. One cannot but wonder that this People who treated

treated all other Nations as Slaves, at this time were dying of hunger, without their assistence; such a dependence they were reduced to, which was without doubt by reason of the incredible number of the Inhabitants and the Desolation the Wars had made in *Italy*; and this is no ordinary Example of the revolution of humane things, that at this time *Africa* was the refuge, and as one may say, the Nurse of *Rome*. *Anthony* pressed *Cæsar* either to an Accommodation with *Pompey*, or to a vigorous open War with him, to open the Trade; but they wanted Money, which obliged them to lay on two Impositions, the one of four *drachma's* and a half for every Slave, the other upon Successions and Legacies left by Testaments. The People irritated by want, rose up in opposition to these Edicts, and assaulted *Cæsar* in the *Forum*; and *Anthony* going to his aid was at first spared by the Rabble, who cryed out, and bid him retire while he advised them to be peaceable; but when he endeavoured to scatter the Mutineers, they threw Stones at him too, and he had like to have been slain, if he had not drawn some Troops which were encamped just without into the Town, who charged the Mobile and killed several of them, and the Souldiers threw their bodies into the *Tyber*. This chastising of them quelled the Mutiny, but not the Famine; and therefore *Anthony* was forced to write to *Libo*, to desire him to come to *Rome*. *Pompey*,

pey, as was ſaid before, was *Libo*'s Son-in-law, and *Cæſar* had married his Siſter. *Libo* came as far as the Iſland of * *Ænaria*, where he expected his Paſs-ports; no ſooner was his Voyage known at *Rome*, but the People tumultuouſly aſſembled to demand Peace of the *Triumviri*, and threatned *Mutia*, *Pompey*'s Mother, to burn her in her own houſe if ſhe did not incline her Son to it. It was no leſs deſired on his ſide. *Murcus*, whoſe credit with him was very great, adviſed it with all earneſtneſs. *Menas* alone oppoſed it for his own particular intereſt, becauſe he was onely valued by *Pompey* for his experience in War: he wrote to him, that *Murcus* aſpired to the Sovereign Authority, which *Pompey* too eaſily believed upon the inſtigation of this enfranchized Slave. *Murcus* by his uſage ſoon perceived it, which made him retire to *Syracuſa*, where he was murthered by ſome Slaves, whom afterwards *Pompey* executed, to clear himſelf from the Murther. It was believed however that he was the Authour of it, or that *Menas* had done it by his order. This Action very much diſpleaſed the Senatours that were retired to *Pompey*, who by this ſaw themſelves expoſed to the capricious humour of a Man governed by Creatures whoſe baſe originals and condition made them capable of all ſorts of Villany. In the mean time *Libo* came to *Rome*, and perſuaded *Cæſar* and *Anthony* to an enterview with *Pompey*, that they in perſon, face to face, might

* *Iſchia.*

might put an end to their differences. *Pompey* at the earneſt ſolicitation of all his Officers, not being able to refuſe this, with his Fleet advanced to * *Puteoli*, there was a kind of a Mole made, where the Mount *Miſenus* runs into the Sea, for the convenience of the Conference. *Pompey* and *Libo* in a Gally, and the two others upon the Peere. *Pompey* immediately demanded to be an Aſſociate in the Empire inſtead of *Lepidus*, which was abſolutely refuſed, as a piece of injuſtice they ſcorned to uſe to their Companion that was abſent; there was much conteſt about this Article, and they parted without doing any thing. The following days they treated by Deputies. *Pompey* then let fall this Pretenſion, ſo that all the difficulty of the Negotiation was reduced to theſe three Articles. 1. That thoſe who were Accomplices in the Aſſaſſination of *Julius Cæſar* ſhould be onely baniſhed into ſome Place they would make choice of themſelves. 2. That thoſe who for other cauſes were proſcribed, ſhould have liberty of returning to *Rome*. And, 3. That theſe laſt ſhould be reſtored to their Eſtates. *Anthony* and *Cæſar* rejected the two firſt Articles, and onely granted the Proſcripts, who were none of the Conſpiratours, leave to buy their Eſtates. Thoſe who were about *Pompey*, terrified by the Example of *Marcus*, conſented to return to *Rome* upon this condition. But he was very much diſpleaſed with them for it, and tearing

* *Puzzolo.*

tearing his Clothes for very rage and ſpight, called them Deſerters and Fugitives; and ſaid that *of all his friends* Menas *alone had given him faithfull and unintereſted counſell.* In the end, the People of *Rome* preſſing on one ſide, and *Mutia* and *Julia* on the other, they had a ſecond enterview, and the Treaty was concluded upon theſe Conditions; That from this moment the War ſhould ceaſe both by Sea and Land; That Commerce and Navigation ſhould be free; That *Pompey* ſhould withdraw his Troops from *Italy*; That he ſhould not retain the Slaves that fled to him; That he ſhould ſuffer no Inroads or Deſcents to be made upon the Coaſts or in the Ports of *Italy*; That he ſhould build no more Veſſels than thoſe he had already; and that he ſhould immediately ſend all the Corn he had ſtored up to *Rome*: upon this Condition they granted him for five years *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and all the Iſles which he was in poſſeſſion of, and *Peloponneſus*. All the reſt of the *Roman* Empire to remain to the *Triumviri*. They agreed beſides, That *Pompey* might in his abſence, by any of his friends, demand the Conſulſhip, and that he ſhould have the dignity of *Pontifex* or High-prieſt. As for thoſe who were proſcribed, all thoſe who had not had a hand in the Conſpiracy might return to *Rome*; thoſe who had not committed any Crime, but were fled to *Pompey* onely for fear, ſhould enjoy all their Eſtates, and the culpable the fourth part

onely. The Slaves which had ſerved under *Pompey* ſhould be declared free; and the free Souldiers, after their time of Service was expired, ſhould have their ſhare of the diviſion of Lands, as thoſe of *Cæſar* and *Anthony*. This Treaty was ſigned by the three Chiefs, and after it was ſealed they ſent it to *Rome*, to be depoſited in the hands of the Veſtals. They then agreed to treat each other, as a mark and token of their ſincere reconciliation. *Pompey* choſe to begin, and when *Cæſar* and *Anthony* aſked him where he would receive them; ſhewing them his Galley, anſwered pleaſantly, In my Veſſels. The word *Carinas* in Latine ſignifies Veſſels or Ships, and was likewiſe the name of a Place in *Rome* where *Pompey* the Great had a noble Palace, which *Anthony* had ſeized on by right of Confiſcation. He underſtood the Raillery well enough, but here we muſt allow that *Cæſar* and he extremely forgot their prudence upon this occaſion; and this entertainment had like to have coſt them dear, if *Pompey* had not had a generous great Soul: as he was at Table with *Cæſar* and *Anthony*, and they began to raily *Anthony* upon his fondneſs for *Cleopatra*, *Menas* approached *Pompey*, and whiſpering him in the Ear told him, *My Lord, You may now revenge the death of your father and brother, and make your ſelf maſter of the world; 'tis but cutting the Cables, let me alone for the reſt.* The blow was ſure, and the temptation violent. *Pom-*

pey

pey had there all his Fleet in Battalia, and the Troops of the other two were aſhoar. He, after a little pauſe, anſwered him, Menas *may violate his faith, that may be fit for him, but not for* Pompey. We have already mentioned, that it was a very unfortunate thing to have the Character of great men onely from Hiſtorians, who either through fear or flattery decryed the Enemies of the Prince they followed. *Velleius*, who wrote in the time of *Auguſtus*, gives us a very ill Portraicture of *Pompey*. 'Tis eaſily perceived he had not all the prudence and dexterity of wit that *Cæſar* had, that was rather a defect in his education; but that nobleneſs of mind which he drew from his birth and diſpoſition, and which he ſhewed here againſt his own Intereſt, is enough to cover all his defects, and ought to oblige them to treat his memory more favourably, which even this action alone is ſufficient to render illuſtrious. *Plutarch* relates this adventure ſomewhat differently, he makes *Pompey* give this anſwer to the Propoſal of *Menas*; *You ſhould have done it without telling me, but now I'm of opinion we ought to keep our word, and keep inviolable that faith we have engaged.* We may perceive by this Anſwer that ſo conſiderable an advantage joined to the pleaſure of Revenge, at firſt ſurprized his Generoſity, but it was onely to make it break out with greater force, and triumph the more in rejecting a perfidious action,

what profit soever might accrue, and for this reason this act of his deserves no less praise.

CHAP. XVI.

The People's Joy upon the first News of the Peace. Cæsar *goes into* Gaul, *and* Anthony *stays at* Athens.

THese Diversions did not hinder them from thinking of more firmly establishing their Authority by Alliances. *Pompey* promised his daughter to *Marcus Marcellus*, the Son of *Octavia*, and they named the Consuls for the four following years. *Anthony* and *Libo* were declared the first, on condition that *Anthony* might exercise his Office by the deputation of one of his friends; *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were designed the second; *Domitius* and *Sosius* the third; and *Anthony* and *Cæsar* were appointed to succeed them for the fourth. Upon this they parted. *Pompey* returned to *Sicilia*, and the two *Triumviri* to *Rome*. This Peace, which put an end to all the Civil-wars, was received and welcomed through all *Italy* with an incredible Joy; the People whereever they past offered publick Sacrifices; they ran in Crowds before them, giving them a thousand Thanks and Praises.

The

The *Romans* above all witneſſed their ſatiſfaction by Bonefires, Games and publick Feaſts: they had prepared them a magnificent entry; but *Anthony* and *Cæſar* refuſed that honour, and went into *Rome* by night: thoſe onely were troubled at the Peace, who had made their profit and advantage by the Confiſcations of the baniſhed perſons which they had uſurped, and which got them powerfull Enemies; for all the proſcribed perſons returned to *Rome* after they had aſſured *Pompey* of their eternal acknowledgments and obligations to him. Thus had he the glory of preſerving many illuſtrious members of the Republick, as *Tiberius*, *Silanus*, *Sentius*, *Arontius* the Son of *Cicero*, and other Senatours; their return redoubled the *Romans* Joy, who for this gave publick thanks to the Gods. *Cæſar*, to keep his Souldiers exerciſed and in military diſcipline, of which Idleneſs is the greateſt plague and deſtruction, ſent one part of his Forces into *Dalmatia*, and led the reſt himſelf into *Gaul*, where ſome Rebels had begun to make ſome ſtirs. *Anthony*, who remained at *Rome*, left it ſome time after, to go to the *Parthian* War. Before he went, he cauſed to be ratified by the Senate all he had done in *Aſia*; and beſides, approve all he had deſigned to doe for the future. The Kings he had eſtabliſhed were confirmed by Ordinance of the Senate in their ſeveral Kingdoms, as *Darius* in *Pontus*, *Pharnaces* in *Idumæa*, *Herod* in *Judæa*,

Amintas in *Piſidia*, and *Polemon* in *Cilicia*. One part of his Troops was ſent into *Illyria*, another againſt the *Dardanians*, and the reſt into *Epirus*. The City of *Athens* he choſe to paſs the Winter away in with *Octavia*, in this place he pleaſed himſelf ſo much, that he intirely gave himſelf over to his pleaſures and diverſions, quitting all the tokens and marks of his Authority to live like a private perſon. At the publick Games and Exerciſes he aſſiſted clad in *Grecian* habit, and took the pains himſelf to part the Combatants. In his Court there was no buſineſs talked of but onely Learning and Philoſophy. He often viſited the *Academia*, the *Lyceum*, and thoſe places deſtined to the ſtudy of Philoſophy which have given ſo much reputation to that famous City. He ſpent whole days to hear their Diſputations and their Conferences; their Feaſts and Entertainments always ended theſe pleaſing Diverſions, and theſe Treats were not made with the Profuſion of the *Ægyptians*, but according to the Sobriety and Modeſty of the *Greeks*. *Octavia* went with him every where: In this charming Wife he enjoyed all the delights of *Cleopatra*, and thoſe excellent Vertues beſides, which the *Ægyptian* had not. *Octavia* had certainly been Miſtreſs of his Heart, if ſhe had not had the misfortune of being his Wife: but *Anthony* was one of thoſe who think all innocent pleaſures inſipid. But *Octavia* had not onely this Rival, the extra-

extravagance of the *Athenians* went as far as heaven to find her out another; however ſordid Flatterers were never better ſerved; *Anthony* they always called *Bacchus*, and in this quality all mortals were much below him; they propoſed he ſhould marry *Minerva*, the Patroneſs of their City. *Anthony* accepted of the match; but for the more honour of ſuch an Alliance, he asked a thouſand talents for her portion; but ſays one of the Match-makers pleaſantly to him, *My Lord*, Jupiter *asked nothing with your Mother* Semele. *Anthony*, however he laugh'd at this Jeſt, would bate nothing of the Sum. It was levyed upon all the Inhabitants, who revenged themſelves according to their cuſtome, that is, by raillery, of which the Love of *Cleopatra* was the principal ſubject. Under the Statue of *Anthony* they wrote theſe words, *Octavia* and *Minerva*, to *Anthony*, *take the baggage again, and let's part.* He laugh'd at their Jeſts, but took their money, though *Dellius*, to mortifie them the more, made as if he ſeriouſly told him he acted againſt the *Roman* Laws, which allowed three years for the payment of a Portion. As ſoon as the Winter was paſſed, *Anthony* re-aſſumed with the marks of his dignity all the Majeſty of an Emperour; he was no more ſeen but in the company of his Commanders. *Athens* was filled with Souldiers, who ſoon ſcared away the Muſes. He received the Ambaſſadours of all the Princes, and

thought of nothing but putting his Fleet to Sea, building of Gallies, and preparing all things necessary for the War he was going to undertake.

CHAP. XVII.

New Causes of breach between Cæsar *and* Pompey. Cæsar *marries* Livia. *Several Fights between the Lieutenants of* Cæsar *and* Pompey.

THE Treaty of Peace between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* had regulated their pretension, but not their Ambition; it had not extinguished in them that Enmity which was in a manner natural to them, considering what fatal effects it had produced between their Fathers, whose animosity yet subsisted in the minds of their adherents: the apparent subject of their difference was *Pelaponnesus*. *Cæsar* pretended that the sums due upon account by that Province were by the Treaty due to the *Triumviri*; that *Pompey* ought to be responsible for them; and either recover it, or permit them to doe it. *Pompey* maintained that, in giving him that Countrey, they gave it him exempt from all Charges: he had still a very formidable Fleet, which by the Council of *Menas* he daily augmented; this was another subject of Complaint for *Cæsar*, who, at taking

king ſome Pirates, they owned that *Pompey* had given them Commiſſions to pillage the Coaſts of *Italy*: It hapned that the Senatours that were about *Pompey*, offended at the inſolence of his freed-men, killed ſome of them; and *Menas*, not thinking *Pompey* concern'd enough for it, was diſguſted with him. *Philadelphus*, the Freed-man of *Cæſar*, had an opportunity of ſeeing *Menas* in the heat of his reſentment and dealt with him to draw him to the ſervice of *Cæſar*; promiſing him the Government of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, with three Legions. *Cæſar* immediately diſowned his freed-man, not being willing, as he ſaid, to begin the War; he wrote to *Anthony* to return to *Italy* to regulate all theſe differences by his Authority: but though *Cæſar* ſeemed intirely taken up by ſuch important affairs, he found ſome in another place which were much more agreeable; and *Livia* was the ſubject of them. The beauty of this woman, joined with a refined and dextrous wit, made the greater impreſſion upon his heart, which was diſguſted at the bitter inſupportable humour of *Scribonia*, ſince it is a known truth, that there is nothing makes a Miſtreſs appear more advantageous to the eyes of a diſcontented husband, than the reflexion he makes upon the oppoſite diſagreeable manners of an ill Wife. *Cæſar* could not long hold out againſt ſo many charms on one ſide, nor againſt the daily vexations *Scribonia* gave him on the other; he divorced her,

and

and his love for the other was ſo violent, that either by his entreaties or his authority he obliged *Tiberius* to yield him *Livia*, although then big with child; but as this great belly was an obſtacle to his paſſion, he conſulted the Prieſts, to know if it was lawfull to marry her in this condition. The Anſwer was, that if there was any doubt who was the Father of the child, it was unlawfull to marry the Mother, but that the Vertue of *Livia* leaving no room for doubt, *Cæſar* might lawfully receive her from the hands of her Husband, according to the cuſtome of the *Roman* Laws, which permitted divorce. Perhaps, ſays *Dion*, this Anſwer was founded upon the ancient Law; but if it had not, they would have been cautious to have decided it otherwiſe. In the Ceremony of marriage *Tiberius* performed the office of Father, and there then fell out an accident which was very pleaſant. *Livia* had with her a little child who uſually diverted her by a hundred pretty prattling ſtories, and ſeeing ſhe was at Table near *Cæſar*, and that *Tiberius* was in another place farther off, ſaid to *Livia*, *What do you doe there, Madam? Look, There's your Huſband*; ſhewing her *Tiberius*: this was not the onely Jeſt upon this Subject; for *Livia* being delivered at his houſe at the end of three months, they ſaid at *Rome* that every thing favoured the fortunate; ſince their very children came in three months time. In the mean while, the Lieutenants of *Cæſar*

ſar had got together a great number of Veſſels at *Ravenna*, and the Forces were recalled from *Gallia* when *Anthony* arrived at *Brunduſium*; but *Cæſar* not being there at the time appointed, he returned into *Greece*, whether it was becauſe he was ill attended, or that he had ſome miſtruſt from *Cæſar*'s Fleet which was very ſtrong, or terrified by prodigies, is uncertain. One of his Sentinels was devoured by Wolves, who left nothing of him whole but his Face, and the main Guard which was near perceived nothing of it; and the Inhabitants of the City told *Anthony* that, at break of day they had ſeen a Wolf come out of his Tent. Whatever his reaſons were, he went back and left Letters for *Cæſar*, whereby he exhorted him to keep to the Conditions of the laſt Treaty, and claimed *Menas* as belonging to him from the ſucceſſion of *Pompey* the Great, which was allotted to him. This freed-man without any more deliberation went over to *Cæſar* to have his protection, and delivered him up *Sardinia* and *Corſica*: he was very well received by *Cæſar*, and they granted him all the rights and privileges of one free-born: this his deſerting broke all the meaſures that were poſſible to be taken for an accommodation. *Cæſar* wrote to the Senate to juſtifie his conduct, he harangued his Army, and made his Lieutenant *Calviſius* advance, and he ſoon after followed accompanied with *Menas*. *Pompey* was then at *Meſſana*, from whence he ſent out his Fleet com-

commanded by *Menecrates*, a mortal foe to *Menas*; the two Fleets came up to each other about Sun ſet, near the Iſland of *Ænaria*. *Cæſar*'s Fleet paſſed the night in the Bay of *Cumes*, and *Menecrates* rode at Anchor without: in the morning he made up to the enemies who lay near the ſhoar, either to force them to fight or to run foul upon the Rock. *Menecrates* was the more advantageouſly poſted by reaſon he might receive aſſiſtence from the Sea-ward, and the others were ſhut up between the Fleet and Shoar, and had nothing but their valour to truſt to; as for *Menas*, he was courageous even to raſhneſs; who as he had diſtinguiſhed *Menecrates*, he made down upon him with extraordinary fury. The uſe of Cannon was not known in thoſe days, ſo that Sea-fights were decided by handy-ſtroaks, grappling the Veſſels, and coming board and board, after they had born the firſt ſhock, which was uſually very violent, becauſe the beak or ſpur of their Gallies was armed with Iron or Braſs; the weakeſt went often to the bottom by this firſt on-ſet, and almoſt all their Ships of war had Oars in the nature of our Gallies to goe with greater force. The firſt brunt of theſe freed-men was very terrible; *Menas* loſt the beak head of his Gally, and *Menecrates* had his rudder broke. Then they grappled; and, as if this Fight between them were to decide the fortune of the Battel, they fought with deſperation, the hatred of theſe men animating them as much

much as glory did others. *Menecrates* his Veſſel was higher than the other, which was a conſiderable advantage to him for the lancing of darts, which were thrown downright upon that of *Menas*, who, by his extreme courage, ſeconded by the bravery of his Souldiers maintained a ſtout Fight, though he had a pile through his Arm, which he pulled out without quitting his poſt; in this inſtant *Menecrates* was hurt in his Thigh by a barbed Dart, which put him from fighting himſelf; and, though he ſtill encouraged his men, yet *Menas*'s made more bold by this advantage boarded his Gally ſo vigorouſly that they ſoon made themſelves Maſters of it. *Menecrates*, in deſpair for his Defeat, threw himſelf into the Sea, rather than fall into the hands of his Enemy, who ſent the conquered Ship towards the ſhoar, and he himſelf bore down to help *Calviſius*, who fought in the ſtarboard diviſion or the right wing of the Battel. This Lieutenant or Vice-admiral had at the beginning of the engagement broke the larboard diviſion or left wing of *Pompey*; but, as he too cloſely perſued thoſe that ran, *Demochares*, *Menecrates*'s Vice-admiral, rallied and preſt the remainder of *Calviſius*'s ſquadron ſo warmly that he took ſome of them, and forced the others to buldge upon the Rocks, where he burn'd them. *Calviſius*, though a little of the lateſt, perceived his errour, came up to the aſſiſtence of his ſquadron, and ſaved ſome

of

of them, and, night coming on, retired into the Bay of *Cumes*, although the loſs fell heavieſt on *Cæſar*'s ſide. *Democharis*, aſtoniſhed at the death of *Menecrates*, retreated to *Sicilia*, which gave opportunity to *Calviſius* to goe out of this Gulf in a very ill equipage. *Cæſar* was then with a powerfull Fleet at *Tarentum*, from whence he went to *Rhegium* to attack *Pompey*, who had onely four Sail in the Port of *Meſſana*. *Cæſar*, againſt the Advice of his Officers, would ſtay for *Calviſius*, in the mean time, *Democharis* joined *Pompey*, who made *Apollophanes*, his Rere-admiral; they were both of them freed-men, and certainly theſe fellows, whom he preferred before ſo many noble *Romans*, had either a great deal of gallantry and deſert, or a very great influence over him: In this Place *Cæſar* received the News of the Fight at *Cumes*, and reſolved to paſs the Strait or *Phare* of *Meſſina* to meet *Calviſius*. *Pompey*, ſeeing him engaged in this narrow paſſage, engaged the rere-moſt Veſſels, and forced the others to draw up cloſe aboard the ſhoar to make head againſt him. *Democharis*, having a Port behind him, attacked them with great advantage in this narrow ſtrait, where every Ship of *Cæſar*'s had two Enemies upon the Bow, without being able to be relieved by the others, ſeveral of them ran a-ſhoar either purpoſely or forced to it. *Cæſar* himſelf was conſtrained to throw himſelf a-ſhoar, and never did he run more riſque than

than at this time; and as he went upon the coaſt to rally his men that ſaved themſelves out of the ſhattered Veſſels, he perceived ſome *Brigantines* that came cloſe along the ſhoar, he imagined them to belong to his own Fleet, and did not perceive his Errour till he was ſurrounded by the Enemies that landed. The knowledge that he had of the turning ways of a neighbouring mountain, at that time preſerved him from that danger to throw him into another no leſs hazardous. A Slave of *Emilius Paulus*, who was then with *Caſar*, and whoſe Father had been baniſhed, believed that a fit opportunity offered it ſelf of revenging his Maſter. He came near to *Caſar*, as they marched in diſorder, and ſtroke at him with his Sword; the darkneſs of the night made him miſs his blow, and he was immediately killed by the Souldiers upon the Place; ſo that Fortune, or, to ſpeak more properly, Providence preſerved in one day from three imminent dangers the Man that was deſtined for the Empire of the World. When he had gained the top of the Mountain, he rallied as many of his Souldiers as he could. In the mean time *Cornificius*, who commanded under him, ſtill maintained the Combat by his bravery and example, he had given the Galley of *Demochares* ſo rude a ſhock that he ſank it, and as that freed-man went aboard another, he perceived *Calviſius* and *Menas*, who came to *Caſar*'s aſſiſtence: This made him ſound a Re-

a Retreat, to the great wonder of *Cæſar*'s Army, who were reduced to extremity, and did not ſee the arrival of this ſuccour. The weakneſs of the Souldiers, and the ill plight of the Veſſels hindred them from purſuing the Enemies. They went a-ſhoar, and there made great Fires. This night was very painfull to the Souldiers, but no body paſt it with more perplexity than *Cæſar* himſelf in the diſquiet, to know the fate of his Fleet: theſe Fires, which he deſcryed from the top of the mountain, gave him ſome Hopes, which he endeavoured to inſpire the Souldiers with that were with him. But incertainty and doubt are very vexatious, and the ſtate he left his Fleet in gave him mortal apprehenſions. His Troops that were ſpread along the Coaſt had no leſs, hearing no news of their General. By good fortune the thirteenth Legion, which was neareſt him, perceived the Fires he had lighted on the top of the mountain: they were detached to know what it was; and when they underſtood who it was, the Souldiers of this Legion mounted the Rocks without following any Path, and came to him: he had then none of his houſhold about him; ſo that night he was waited on by the Souldiers: he ſent every where to learn news of his Troops; and knowing *Calviſius* was ſafe arrived, he paſſed the reſt of the night with more tranquillity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The wreck of Cæſar's *Fleet. The arrival of* Anthony *at* Brunduſium. *He agreed with* Cæſar, *by means of* Octavia.

THE day appearing *Cæſar* ſaw his Veſſels ſtranded upon the Coaſt, ſome half burnt, others quite conſumed, the Sea was all covered with the Wreck; but that which afflicted him moſt was, to ſee the Enemy approach to finiſh his Defeat. He ſent to *Calviſius* to put the remainders of his Fleet into a fighting poſture; and he himſelf prepared to aſſiſt him. The Enemies were ready drawn up in battalia, without moving, waiting to engage *Calviſius* as ſoon as ever he began to work: When immediately the Sea began to run very high with a Southerly wind. *Pompey* retired into the Port of *Meſſana*. *Menas*, who had a perfect experience in Sea affairs, ſtood into the *Oſſin* with his Veſſels, where he rode with all his Anchors down, and ſtemmed the head Sea with the force of his Oars: ſo the greateſt fury of the Storm fell upon *Cæſar*'s Gallies, who were anchored cloſe by the ſhoar, and had ran out Booms betwixt them and it, to hinder their ſtriking. But the Wind increaſing, and the Sea rolling upon them very furiouſly, all fell into diſorder, and after the Cables broke and gave

way, ſome were buldged againſt the Rocks, and others ſtranded. The noiſe of the Storm hindred the Pilots from being heard: they could no longer work the Ships; ſo that in this confuſion falling foul of one another, the weakeſt were ſplit by the ſtronger. There one might ſee Souldiers, Sailors and Officers ſwallowed by the Waves, or elſe half dead ſtriving to ſwim to land. Night came on and increaſed the horrour and diſorder: there was nothing heard but lamentable Cryes mingled with the noiſe of the Waves and Wind. One cryed out for help, another called to his Comrade; almoſt all of them bewailed their miſerable ſtate and invoked the aſſiſtence of the Gods: the moſt courageous ſilently waited their deſtiny; but there were ſome that, moved by a fantaſtical kind of deſpair, killed themſelves, as if in Death they expected ſomething worſe than Death it ſelf. At the return of the Sun the fury of the Wind ſlackned, and ſome time after the Storm ceaſed. The Inhabitants of thoſe Coaſts affirmed that in the memory of Man there had not been felt any ſo terrible as this. In this *Cæſar* loſt two thirds of his Fleet, with what he loſt in the Fight: to ſhun the ſight of this diſmal ſpectacle, he went to *Vibonium*. From this Place he ſent Orders to his Lieutenants, to double their care and their guard, that *Pompey* upon this advantage might not attempt ſome conſiderable Enterprize, which he thought not on in the leaſt,

leaſt, for which overſight he was very much blamed; nay, he was ſo negligent as to let the reſt of *Cæſar*'s ſhattered Fleet paſs by him to *Vibonium*; but this careleſneſs of his was the utter ruine of all his Deſigns and of his Reputation. *Cæſar* went into *Campania* very much afflicted at his loſs: he now found himſelf without Ships or Money, and the People of *Rome* famiſhed and in general crying out againſt this War: he diſpatched *Mecænas* to *Anthony*, to demand his aſſiſtence, and to explain himſelf upon ſome ſmall occaſion of complaints between them, and at all hazard reſolved to tranſport his Army into *Sicilia* upon Ships of burthen and Hulks, and attack *Pompey* in his Iſle. In the mean time the City of *Rome* was much terrified with the Prodigies which hapned at that time: from *Africk* there came News, that at *Clypea* a ſhoal of *Dolphins* had fought with ſo much fury, that they were all killed; that it had rained bloud: it was beſides obſerved at *Rome*, that on a very great Feſtival none of the Senatours had eaten in the Capitol that day, which was taken for a very ill omen. One of theſe Prodigies onely was welcome to *Cæſar*, becauſe it was very pleaſing to *Livia*; as ſhe was in the Countrey, an *Eagle* let fall into her lap a milk white Hen, who held a branch of Laurel in her Bill: She was no leſs glad than ſurprized at ſo extraordinary an adventure. She bred up the Hen, and planted the Laurel, which thri-

ved ſo well in a ſhort time, that it afforded crowns to all thoſe that triumph'd afterward, from that time till *Nero*; under whom this Laurel and all the young ſhoots of it withered all on a ſudden, and at the ſame time ended the race of the white Hens, which preſaged the Death of that Emperour, who was the laſt of the *Cæſar* Family. But, in ſpight of all theſe dire Portents, *Cæſar* had intelligence of two things, which very much re-aſſured him; the one was, that *Anthony* was coming to his aid, and that in *Agrippa* he had quite routed the *Gaules* in a very great Battel. This turn of good fortune, as it's very uſual, confirmed ſeveral of his Party to his Intereſt, who by this time began to waver. Every one ſtrove to offer him Money and Veſſels, by which means he ſet forth a gallant Fleet, which at this time very much raiſed his hopes. *Anthony* arrived at *Brunduſium* with three hundred Sail, giving out, he came to aſſiſt *Cæſar* in this War. *Cæſar* could very well have diſpenſed with it. He thought he was already too powerfull, and therefore ſought all manner of Pretences to excuſe his going to meet *Anthony*, who was not over-well ſatisfied with his Proceedings. He had need of Souldiers, to make War with the *Parthians*; and willing to ſpare the charge of a Fleet, he deſigned *Cæſar* ſhould take his Fleet and give him Land-forces. *Octavia* offered to goe to her Brother, to clear all their doubts and ſuſpicions,

ons, and induce him to give her Husband this ſatisfaction. As ſoon as *Cæſar* ſaw her, he gave her a large account of the Dangers he had run in his War with *Pompey*; very much amplifying them and *Anthony*'s negligence in aſſiſting him. *Octavia* preſently ſtopp'd his Accuſations, telling him, Mecœnas *had already received full ſatisfaction as to this point; and that he had aſſured that there ſhould be no more ſaid of it.* *Cæſar* twitted her, *that* Anthony *had ſent* Callias *to* Lepidus *to engage him to make War againſt him.* She replied, Callias *had no Commiſſion, but onely to propoſe a Match between his ſon and* Anthony's *daughter, and offered to deliver him up the man, that he might draw the truth from him by torture.* And finding *Cæſar* began to hearken to her, ſhe endeavoured to gain his Miniſters, the chief of whom were *Agrippa* and *Mecœnas:* they had both of them a profound reſpect for *Octavia*, being very ſenſible of the influence ſhe had over her Brother's humour. *You ſee*, ſaid ſhe, Octavia, *a woman of the greateſt quality in the world, juſt upon the point of being made the moſt miſerable of her ſex, if by your care and good counſels you keep her not from theſe misfortunes. All the* Roman *Empire has their eyes upon me, as being the ſiſter of* Cæſar *and wife of* Anthony; *if my evil deſtiny ſhould carry them to make war, you have a chance of fortune in favour of you; but what ſide ſoever falls, I ſhall be unfortunate, and ſhall be reduced to the cruel*

neceſſity of bewailing the loſs of a husband or a brother. This moving Argument, joined with the affection *Cæſar* had for his Siſter, obliged him to come to an enterview with *Anthony*. For this end they choſe a place between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum*, upon a River that bears the name of the latter. *Anthony* came thither the firſt, and as ſoon as he ſaw *Cæſar* coming, he leaped into a Boat, to goe and receive him on the other ſide the River. *Cæſar*, not to be behindhand with him in Civility, haſtily advanced in another Boat; they met in the midſt of the River, where, after they embraced, they had a very obliging conteſt, on which ſide they ſhould land; *Anthony* was earneſt to land on *Cæſar*'s, and he on *Anthony*'s: *Cæſar* at laſt prevailed, under Pretence of waiting on his Siſter who was returned to *Tarentum:* they walked together to this Town, where *Cæſar* ſpent the night without any other Guards about his perſon than thoſe of *Anthony*, who next day went likewiſe without Guards, and lay in *Cæſar*'s Camp; upon which *Appion* ſays very well, that this exceſs of confidence was as great a ſign of their Levity, as the differences they had upon every ſlight occaſion. They concluded that *Cæſar* ſhould put off his Enterprize againſt *Pompey* till Spring, becauſe *Anthony* could no longer defer his expedition againſt the *Parthians*, that he ſhould give *Cæſar* 120 Sail, who ſhould furniſh him with two Legions of *Italian* Souldiers; and *Octavia*, upon

upon her own account, gave her Brother twenty great Veſſels, the beſt that were in her Husband's Fleet, and *Cæſar* complemented her with 4000 old Souldiers, to increaſe the number of her Guards; and the five years of the *Triumvirate* being almoſt finiſhed, they prolonged it five more purely by their own Authority, without valuing the conſent of the People or the ratification of the Senate. But that which is moſt ſurprizing in this Argument is, that *Anthony*, who found *Octavia* ſo amiable, who ſo much admired her vertue, and who owed to her care all the advantages he reaped by this Treaty, would leave her and a daughter he had by her in *Italy*; and, for all this, *Cæſar* did not blame the injuſtice of his Proceeding. The reaſons they both had for their proceeding thus are not come to our knowledge, and therefore the Hiſtorians have left us the liberty to gueſs at them. 'Tis not very hard to divine, that *Anthony*, returning into the Eaſt with his Soul filled with the imagination of thoſe pleaſures with which *Cleopatra* had ſo long charmed him, he look d upon his Wife but onely as an obſtacle to his pleaſures, upon the falſe principle of men of his character; that all the honour and reputation is the Wife's right, but the heart and affection the Miſtreſſe's. And as he knew *Octavia*'s vertue would remain unſhaken in ſpight of all his ill-uſage and infidelity, he knew he could leave no body near *Cæſar* who would inſpire

him with better Sentiments for him and his intereſt. As for *Cæſar*, whoſe reach was ſo extraordinary, although he were very ſenſible of this injury, he knew well enough the noiſe *Anthony*'s uſage of his wife would make in the World, and how it would load him with all the hatred of the *Romans*, who had a great veneration for his Siſter; and therefore, it may be, was very glad of the occaſion of ſo juſt a pretence of a breach with *Anthony*, when he ſaw it was moſt for his advantage. At this time *Menas*, incited by his natural levity and inconſtancy, or outraged he was not conſidered as he deſerved, abandoned the party of *Cæſar*, and returned to *Pompey* with his Gallies, without *Calviſius* perceiving his revolt; which made *Cæſar* take from him the Command of the Navy, to give it to *Agrippa*.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæſar *puts a powerfull Fleet to Sea, commanded by* Agrippa. *He attacks* Pompey *in* Sicilia. Lepidus *comes to* Cæſar's *aſſiſtence. Several Actions.*

Agrippa, the better to acquit himſelf with honour in this Command, reſolved to have a potent Navy at Sea, and to fit it out with more eaſe and convenience, he

he made uſe of two Lakes, the *Lucrinus* and the *Avernus*. The Lakes were *Reſervoirs*, of a prodigious extent, made by incredible labour and expence in places where the Sea working over the banks in foul weather had naturally formed a kind of Baſin or Pool: in theſe Places, Art aſſiſting Nature had hollowed theſe vaſt Receptacles, and made them capable of holding a great Fleet: here too were uſed and fattened thoſe Oiſters, Lampreys and other Sea-fiſh, which were made ſo famous by being made the chief ingredients of the *Roman* Luxury: theſe Places had communication with the Sea by Sluices. *Cæſar* had given freedom to Twenty thouſand Slaves, upon condition they were to ſerve at the Oar. After *Agrippa* had employed the remainder of this year and all the next to build ſeveral Veſſels, and fit out the other, he daily exerciſed his Souldiers and his *Chiorme*, ſometimes by Prizes which he gave the beſt Rowers, otherwhiles by Mock-fights, wherein he put in practice all the neceſſary motions that belonged to Sea-fights: by this means he trained up expert Mariners and good Souldiers: and *Cæſar*, who knew his zeal and active diligence, entirely relied on him. But as the Loſs he had formerly ſuſtained was believed to be an effect of the anger of the Gods; he reſolved to appeaſe them with great Sacrifices. He aſſembled all his Navy at *Puteoli*, where the Miniſters deſigned for this function were alſo met: they raiſed Altars

tars on the Sea-ſhoar, which were ſprinkled with the Sea-water, in ſight of all the Souldiers who were in the Veſſels in a profound Silence: after which the Sacrificers in Pinnaces offered up Victims, and, accompanied by the principal Commanders, rowed round the Fleet, carrying the limbs of the Sacrifices; they beſeeched the Gods, that all the misfortunes the Fleet was threatned with might fall upon thoſe Victims then offered; and at the ſame time threw ſome into the Sea; the reſt were burned: and then, they returned to the Altars, which they perfumed with Incenſe and ſweet odours, while all the Aſſiſtents offered up their Vows, Prayers and Supplications. In this manner the *Romans* uſed to bleſs and purifie their Ships before they undertook any great expedition. *Cæſar* had taken order to aſſault *Pompey* on all ſides, in his Fort, that is, in *Sicilia*. *Lepidus*, whom he had ſent for, was to land on the South of the Iſle, at *Lilybæum*. *Taurus*, who was at *Tarentum*, attacked him on the Eaſt ſide, and *Cæſar* himſelf on the Weſt: he made choice of the day of the New-moon dedicated to the honour of *J. Cæſar* in the month of *July* (which yet retains his name) to weigh his Anchors and ſet ſail. *Pompey* on his part prepared to make a very vigorous defence: he ſent *Pliny* to *Lilybæum* with eight Legions and a great number of light armed Foot; he guarded all the Coaſts of *Sicilia* and the Iſles of *Lipari* and *Corcyra*, to hinder *Cæſar* from ſeizing

ſeizing on them, he himſelf kept in the Port of *Meſſina* with his beſt Ships, to carry Succours where it was neceſſary. *Lepidus* was come from *Africa* with twelve Legions and Five thouſand *Numidian* Horſe upon eighty Ships of War and a thouſand Barks. *Taurus* had a hundred and two Veſſels that were *Anthony*'s; and *Cæſar*, followed by *Appius* who was his Lieutenant-general, was come from *Puzzolo* with a favourable gale. But it ſeems that neither the Sea nor Winds were appeaſed by the Sacrifices. *Lepidus*, by a Southerly wind which ſank ſeveral of his Barks, was thrown upon the Coaſt of *Sicily*, where he landed with much pain and hazzard: However he put his Troops in good order; and, after he had taken ſeveral ſmall Places, he beſieged *Pliny* in *Lilybæum*. *Taurus*, foreſeeing the Storm, retired to *Tarentum*: but *Cæſar* ſuffered moſt of all; his Lieutenant, caſt upon the Rocks near *Catanea*, had the beſt part of his Veſſels ſplit and bulged; he himſelf with the loſs of one Galley made in to a Gulf near *Eleata*; but this Bay lying open to the Southerly wind, which more and more increaſed, *Cæſar*'s Fleet was ſo beaten by ſtreſs of weather that he was forced to ſave himſelf a-ſhoar, with ſo violent a diſpleaſure that, they ſay, he cryed out that, however, in ſpight of even *Neptune* himſelf, he would get the Victory. He loſt ſix of the great Ships that *Octavia* had given him, twenty ſix others, and many light Brigantines

tines or pirating Boats called *Liburnica*. He omitted no care nor diligence to repair this Misfortune. He ſent *Mecœnas* to *Rome*, to hinder all commotions this accident might cauſe in favour of *Pompey*, whoſe name the People had reſpect for. He encouraged the Veterane Souldiers by freſh Promiſes of Rewards. And after he had viſited *Taurus* at *Tarentum*, where his Ships were in good order, he came to *Vibonium*, where he gave order for the re-eſtabliſhment of his Navy; but, to ſhew the weakneſs and misfortune of theſe men thus clouded by a falſe Superſtition, he would never forgive *Neptune* this laſt diſgrace, and made his Image be taken from among the other Divinities the day the publick Games were celebrated in the *Circus*. On the other hand, *Pompey* gave thanks and offered Sacrifices to this God, and truſted ſo much to his aſſiſtence, that he never minded taking any advantage from his Adverſaries diſorder; he ſaid that, *theſe repeated Shipwrecks in Summer when the Sea is commonly calm were viſible tokens of the favour and protection of* Neptune. And he was ſo vain as to adorn himſelf with a Robe of Yellow, the Colour conſecrated to this God inſtead of a Purple one, the uſual Ornament of *Roman* Generals. In the mean time *Cæſar* refitted his Fleet with incredible diligence, which ſoon made *Pompey* be of another mind; convincing him of his falſe hopes he had flattered himſelf with, that ſo many loſſes would diſ-

diſcourage *Cæſar*. He therefore ſent *Menas*, with the Squadron he commanded, to ſee what poſture the Enemies were in. This freed-man, whoſe courage and experience deſerved better than to be joined to ſo inconſtant and perfidious a mind, already repented he had gone back to *Pompey*, whoſe Fleet he thought to have commanded, but was diſappointed. Therefore he reſolved to perform ſome remarkable Exploit, to make himſelf conſiderable and be courted; ſo, after he had gained the affection of his Souldiers by the Money he diſtributed among them, in three days he made 1500 *Stadiums*, and fell upon *Cæſar*'s guard Ships. He took three immediately, ſank ſome Victuallers, burn'd others; and by theſe brave Exploits aſtoniſhed the whole Fleet of *Cæſar*, which at that time had no Commander in chief. He, beſides, made uſe of this Strategeme, he ran his Galley into a kind of Bay, which had owzy ground, as if he had been drown'd and ſtranded, the Souldiers of the Legions who were a-ſhoar ran to ſeize upon it; but when *Menas* ſaw them within reach of his Darts, he threw an infinite number among them, and ſtood out again to Sea, laughing at and mocking them with Shouts. When he thought he had made himſelf ſufficiently formidable, he ſent a man to *Mindius*, an Officer of *Cæſar*'s, to ſpeak with him. *Mindius* went, and *Menas* told him that he was willing to return to *Cæſar*'s ſervice, which the hatred and injuſtice

justice of *Calvisius* made him forsake. *Mindius* told *Messala* of it, who being a Man of honour onely, scorned his Inconstancy. However he made *Cæsar* acquainted with what *Mindius* had done with him. *Cæsar* gave him what Security he desired, but it was rather to weaken *Pompey*'s Party, than strengthen his own by a Man who was not to be trusted. *Menas* came and threw himself at *Cæsar*'s Feet, who pardoned him, without leaving him any Command, and displaced and changed all the Officers of his Vessels. However, if we will believe *Horace*, *Menas* retired himself with great wealth, and served afterwards in the Post of a military Tribune.

CHAP. XX.

The Actions of Agrippa *against* Pompey, *who beats* Cæsar*'s Fleet.*

A Little after this, *Messala*, by order from *Cæsar*, went for *Sicilia* with three Legions, which he encamped near the Bay of *Taurominum* above *Lepidus* his Camp. Three other Legions were sent to *Stilide*, on the other side. And *Taurus* went from *Tarentum* with all the Squadron he commanded, to make himself Master of the Cape of *Squlazzo*, over against *Taormina*; in

in the mean time four of *Lepidus* his Legions, who came out of *Africk* in Barks, were defeated by *Papias*, *Pompey*'s Lieutenant. Two of theſe Legions were utterly loſt, except ſome few Souldiers that ſaved themſelves and got to *Lepidus* his Camp. The other two went back into *Africa*. *Cæſar* was then with all his Navy at the *Iſle* of *Strongyle*, from whence he ſaw the Coaſt of *Sicily* defended by *Pompey*'s Forces who were at *Pylorus*, *Myles*, *Tindaride*, and other Places. He left *Agrippa* to command the Fleet, and returned to *Vibonium*, from whence going into *Sicily* he marched towards *Taurominum* with *Meſſala*'s three Legions. *Agrippa*, who longed for an opportunity of ſignalizing his Valour, ſeeing himſelf Commander in chief of ſo mighty a Fleet, beſieged *Hiera* upon the Coaſt of *Sicily*; and after he had taken it, he had ſurprized *Democharis* with fourty Sail in the Port of *Myles*, if *Pompey* had not ſent *Apollophanes* with fourty five others to his aid, whom he ſome time after followed with eighty. *Agrippa* had left half his Fleet at *Hiera*, and went with the reſt to intercept *Papias*, who intended to get into the Port of *Myles*, when at the ſame inſtant he diſcovered *Apollophanes* and *Pompey*, who made towards him. He then commanded the Ships that were at *Hiera* with all ſpeed to come up to him, and diſpatched a light Brigantine to let *Cæſar* know what danger he was in. But that he might not be hemmed in, he reſolved

ſolved firſt to engage *Papias*, who was neareſt hand. *Papias* his Gallies were light and well manned with Rowers; *Agrippa*'s were heavy, but ſtronger and loftier, and his Souldiers all brave and men of ſervice; which gave them great advantage in boarding; for no ſooner was one of *Pompey*'s Gallies grappled but it was taken; therefore they avoided this way of Fighting, and onely attacked *Agrippa*'s by ſurprize, bearing upon their Quarter, breaking their Rudders and their Oars. *Pompey* advanced with his Veſſels to encompaſs *Agrippa* before the reſt of his Fleet came to his relief from *Hiera*; while *Papias* made a brave Fight, though his Galley were ſplit by *Agrippa*'s and he forced to change his Ship. *Pompey* ſeeing the Veſſels come from *Hiera*, judged his would be too weak for them, and therefore thought of a Retreat; and though he endeavoured it with all order imaginable, he could not hinder *Agrippa* from taking thirty Gallies, with the loſs of onely five of his own. The Swiftneſs of *Pompey*'s Veſſels was the occaſion of ſaving the remainder, becauſe they ran into places where *Agrippa* durſt not follow them, becauſe his drew more water, and would have been aground. *Agrippa* was minded to block them up but his Officers repreſented to him that *it was not convenient to hazard the honour of ſo brave an action, by expoſing the Fleet to the danger of the Winds and Seas, which they had but too much experience of already.*

He

he followed their advice, and retired. *Pompey*, ſeeing his Souldiers much diſcouraged by this ill ſucceſs, thought it was not in the leaſt proper for him to ſhew any ſigns of diſcontent himſelf. Quite contrary, he praiſed their Valour, and laid the blame of his misfortunes upon the weak building of his Ships: nay, he gave rewards to thoſe that had behaved themſelves well, as if they had gained a Victory; and this management of his in this conjuncture was a great reaſon of aſſuring him of the affection of his Troops. Theſe differences thus balancing the Succeſſes of both Parties were very convenient for the deſigns of *Lepidus*; he was then in *Sicilia* with a great Army, as if he were onely come to be a peaceable Spectatour of the Battels, and to ſee both Parties Ruine by the fury and length of this War. This Trimming of his gave *Cæſar* great occaſion of ſuſpicion, but it was not now time to ſhew it. He was at *Squlazzo* with *Taurus* and *Meſſala*'s Legions when he heard the News of *Agrippa*'s Victory, and thereupon attempted to take *Taormina*, thinking *Pompey* was blocked up by *Agrippa*, and could not come to relieve it. It was a Poſt of great importance; and *Pompey*, who had foreſeen this deſign, left his Fleet with *Demochares*, and came to *Meſſina*, where he drew into a Body all his Forces: his abſence gave *Agrippa* an opportunity to aſſault *Tindaride*, from whence being repulſed he took ſome ſmall places on the Sea-ſide. *Cæſar* go-

ing on Ship-board with the greateſt part of his Army, leaving the reſt with *Meſſala*, came before *Taurominum* and ſummoned the Garriſon. *Pompey*'s Souldiers anſwered him as became men of honour, and upon their refuſal *Cæſar* with his Fleet ſtood over to the other ſide of the mouth of the River *Oenobalus*, and diſembarked them near a Temple of *Venus*, and from thence went and encamped at *Artemiſa*, a Temple of *Diana*, which he fortified, the better from thence to attack *Taurominum* Whilſt his Army was drawn up in Battalia, ſtaying till their ſeveral Quarters were allotted them, they ſaw the Army of *Pompey* appear both by Sea and Land. *Cæſar* was extremely ſurpriſed at this, and his Troops were ſeized with ſo great a fear that, ſeeing *Pompey*'s Horſe charge their advanced Guards, they put themſelves into diſorder. Upon this occaſion *Pompey* wanted both conduct and counſel; for *Cæſar* had been utterly defeated, if he had been but warmly attack'd. The night that came on was the pretext of *Pompey*'s Retreat which he made towards the Mountain *Coccineum*, from whence he ſent all his Foot to *Phenice*, not daring to encamp with it ſo near *Cæſar* in an open Countrey. *Cæſar* fortified his Camp with extraordinary diligence; ſo that he quickly put himſelf out of danger of being forced. He had with him three Legions, five hundred diſmounted Horſe, a thouſand light armed Foot, and two thouſand auxiliary Forces

Forces of the Allies. The Fault *Pompey* had committed confirmed him in the opinion he had of his want of experience; and, to make ſome advantage of it, he put aboard his beſt Souldiers, and went and engaged the Enemies Fleet. The Fight was very hot, but unfortunate for *Cæſar*. *Pompey* ſoon made him ſenſible that, if he wanted Conduct, he did not want Valour; ſo that he took ſeveral Veſſels, and burn'd others, and had quite put an end to this War by a glorious Victory, had it not been for the aſſiſtence of *Cornificius*, who commanded *Cæſar*'s Army on Land. The Battel was fought not far from Land, ſo that moſt of the Souldiers ſaved themſelves on Shoar; but *Cæſar* loſt many Gallies in this Defeat: he was left alone with onely one Attendant in a Shallop, which landed him at the Port of *Abale*. Theſe great misfortunes, joined to his extreme fatigues, brought him ſo low both in body and mind, that he laid aſide all care of his preſervation, and endeavoured to forget his troubles by the aſſiſtence of Sleep, which the ſolitude he was in with onely one Slave, and the riſque he ran of the Enemies, could not hinder him from. In this ſtate he was found by his Officers, who were along the Coaſt to meet with him, and a-ſleep as he was, without waking him, they carried him from one Boat to another, till they had brought him ſafe to *Meſſala*'s Camp: here a Prodigy happened to him, which gave him great hopes: a

great Fiſh threw himſelf out of the Sea upon the ſhoar, and expired at his feet; and as the *Romans* were ſuperſtitious and gave great credit to theſe Preſages, *Cæſar* believed this betokened victory to him, as if the Sea by this tribute and ſubmiſſion had acknowledged his Power.

CHAP. XXI.

Cæſar *gives new Orders for the fighting of* Pompey, *who in a general battel is entirely defeated.*

THE firſt care of *Cæſar* was, to preſerve the Forces he had left under the command of *Cornificius*; he therefore diſpatched away Courriers to his men that kept the Paſſes of the mountains, with poſitive order, to come up to that General, to whom he ſent a Brigantine, to bid him be ready to receive them. After this forecaſt he took a little reſt, and then came to *Stilide* with great diligence. *Carinna*, *Meſſala*'s Lieutenant, had orders to go to *Lipara*. *Agrippa* was to ſend aid to *Cornificius*, and *Meſſala* to return to *Puteoli*, to make Recruits, and bring the firſt Legion to *Vibonium*. For had he not uſed all the Precaution, *Cornificius* had been utterly loſt; for *Pompey* having declined to fight him when he

he offered him Battel; he had retrenched himſelf in ſight of his Camp, and cut off all Proviſions from him; he was at length conſtrained to decamp, and by *Pompey*'s *Numidian* Cavalry was forced into a place called by the Inhabitants of the Countrey the fiery Brook. This in all appearance was ſome place near mount *Etna*; and the Land all here about, being burnt and breathing out ſulphureous exhalations, dryes up the Torrents that fall, ſo that all is covered with onely aſhes and duſt. Here the Troops of *Cornificius* had periſhed with thirſt, if the Succours that *Agrippa* ſent to him by *Aronius* had not come in very good time to diſengage him in this Extremity. However, *Cornificius* was ſo much puffed up with vanity for this Retreat, that when he returned to *Rome*, as a mark of honour to himſelf, he never came home from Supper from his friends houſes but mounted in triumph upon an Elephant. At the appearance of *Agrippa*'s Legions the *Numidians* retreated, and *Cornificius* joined *Agrippa*, who had taken *Tindaride*, whither he afterwards came with all his land Forces, which conſiſted of one and twenty Legions, two thouſand Horſe and five thouſand light-armed Foot. *Pompey* was not ſo ſtrong by Land, but had a better Fleet than *Cæſar*. They made ſeveral motions, and had ſome ſlight skirmiſhes; but at length, *Cæſar*, ſeizing upon all the paſſages of Proviſion by land, made *Pompey*'s Forces retire, and reduced him to the neceſſity of

finiſhing their differences by a Sea-fight; though *Cæſar* was not very willing to it, becauſe the Sea had never been favourable to him. However, he found himſelf obliged to it in honour, and by the confidence he placed in the Conduct and Valour of *Agrippa*. They fixed an appointed day of Battel, and both ſides prepared for it. The two Generals were to meet, each with four hundred Veſſels. *Agrippa*, contriving all ways to get the Victory, invented a kind of Engine, which ſucceeded very well: This was a Grappling hook, made of a piece of Timber five cubits long, covered over with Plates of Iron, at each end whereof was a Ring of Iron; to one end was faſtned a Scyth, or rather a great Hook, to the other ſeveral Cables to draw it home when any Veſſel was grappled. The impatience of the Generals made them come very betime to the place of Battel between *Myles* and *Naulocus*. Their Souldiers carried on by an equal ardor ſoon came to handy-blows, and as they had ſufficient leiſure to prepare for it, Darts, Piles, Stones, Arrows and Fire-pots were all employed. That which more particularly appears in Civil wars you may be ſure happened here, where the animoſity of particular perſons made the Combate more bloudy than if between neighbouring Nations, onely for the motive of Glory and Conqueſt. All the Gallies were grappled by this Invention of *Agrippa*, nor could thoſe of *Pompey* avoid this diſadvantageous

geous way of fighting. The land Forces of both Parties ſtood as Spectators on the ſhoar waiting for the event of it with a great deal of apprehenſion. The Victory was long dubious, but at laſt by the bravery of *Agrippa* it turned in favour of *Cæſar*. None could behave themſelves better than he did upon this occaſion. He was every where. He over-ſet the Enemies Gallies with the ſhock of his, which was the beſt and ſtrongeſt of the Fleet, and put ſeveral of them out of condition of fighting, and performed ſuch gallant actions that *Anthony* afterwards reproached *Cæſar*, that he had not the courage ſo much as to ſee the Navies in Battel order, but lay down in his Gally with his eyes to Heaven, as one beſides himſelf and frighted out of his ſenſes, and did not riſe to ſhew himſelf to the Souldiers till after *Agrippa* had put his Enemies to flight. The truth of the ſtory is, that at the time of the Engagement *Cæſar* was overcome with ſo profound a Sleep that his familiars were forced to wake him to give the word and the ſignal for the Charge, and this is the ground of *Anthony*'s reproach. *Cæſar*, upon this occaſion, behaved himſelf like a man of prudence and courage. Nevertheleſs, he gave all the honour of it to *Agrippa*, whom he honoured with a blew Standard and a roſtral Crown. This was ſo total a Defeat that *Pompey* had onely ſeventeen Gallies left of all that great Fleet, with which he fled to *Meſſina*. *Cæſar* onely loſt three

that were ſunk; but there were ſunk of *Pompey*'s twenty eight, the others were either burnt or taken. This great Victory had this remarkable in it, that the ſame day it was publiſhed at *Rome* by a Souldier, who, no doubt inſpired, proclaimed it aloud, and ran to the *Capitol* and laid his Sword at the Feet of *Jupiter*'s Image, as if he had no more need of it. *Pompey*, who had ſo often neglected his advantages in proſperity, and had no more good conduct in adverſity, left his land Forces at the diſcretion of the Conquerour, inſtead of going to them and re-aſſuring them by his preſence; ſo that *Tiſienus*, who commanded them, went with all his Troops into *Cæſar*'s ſervice. Upon this *Pompey* forſook the marks and habit of a General, and ſent to thoſe of *Meſſina*, that if they intended to retire and ſave themſelves, they ſhould ſpeedily embark. *Pliny* had eight Legions at *Lilybæum*, and was marching to aſſiſt him according to the Orders he had received. *Pompey* was in *Meſſina*, a very ſtrong place, and able to maintain a long Siege; but he, not ſtaying for his Lieutenant, bore through the ſtrait, to throw himſelf into the Power of *Anthony*, whoſe protection he hoped for in requital of that he had formerly given his Mother *Julia*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Pompey's *flight.* Lepidus *endeavours to make himself Master of* Sicily. *His Souldiers forsake him to serve* Cæsar, *who orders the Affairs of* Rome *with great prudence.*

LEpidus as we have already mentioned quietly watched the success of this War, at the head of fourteen Legions in very good quarters. As soon as he heard of *Pompey*'s defeat he came near to *Messina*, which had been already assaulted by *Agrippa*. *Pliny* had put himself and Forces into it after *Pompey*'s departure, but seeing there was no way but surrendring, he sent to the two Generals to capitulate. *Agrippa* intreated *Lepidus* to stay till *Cæsar*'s arrival, which at fartheſt would be next morning which *Lepidus* refused, and as he was the strongest upon the place he received *Pliny* upon Composition, and added his Troops to his Army, after which he abandoned the Town to the pillage of the Souldiers. *Cæsar* arriving at break of day, sent to *Lepidus* to complain of these proceedings, as also for his seizing upon several places in *Sicilia*. *Lepidus* fiercely answered, that *Cæsar* had taken upon him all the authority of the Triumvirate, whereto he had as much right as himself, but the event shewed that if he ever had he knew not how to maintain it. *Cæsar* was one of those extraordinary Persons, whose wit and gallantry in so high

Advancement,

Advancement keep firm, and ſtill raiſe them higher; whereas in men of vulgar Spirits it often happeneth, that either their wit prejudices their courage, or their valour their underſtanding: He went alone to *Lepidus* his Camp without any other aſſiſtence than that of his own merit, and the Authority he had gained by his Victories. The Souldiers of *Pompey* looked upon him with reſpect, and drew round about him. *Lepidus* being told of it, makes haſte thither and ſcatters the Souldiers, and made them charge *Cæſar*, who was hurt by a Dart thrown at him, which yet did not hinder him from going to the place where the Eagles of the Legions were planted, taking one of them which he advanced in the Air, whereupon all the Legionary Souldiers ran in crowds and ſaluted him as their General. *Lepidus* being the ſecond time abandoned by his Souldiers, quitted all the marks of his Authority which he could no longer keep, took a mourning Gown, and after he had remained a good while unregarded in the throng of thoſe who flocked to ſalute *Cæſar*, he came and threw himſelf at his feet. This was a terrible mortifying ſpectacle worthy of reflexion to ſee a *Triumvir*, who had diſpoſed of the Lives of many noble Perſons, to be reduced to beg his own, of one whom he had ſo lately inſulted over. *Cæſar* deſpiſed him too much to take it from him, he pardoned him, but took from him the Rank and Authority,

rity, and onely left him his Eſtate and the Dignity of ſovereign Prieſt. The Greek Hiſtorians to give more honour to *Cæſar*'s prudence take from his Courage, they report that he was already aſſured of the greateſt part of *Lepidus* his Officers before he went into his Camp, and that he had with him a Troop of Horſe, and that being charged by *Lepidus* he was hurt, and his Eſquire killed cloſe by him, and that in his retreat he cut to pieces a Cohort of *Pompey*'s; who inſulted at his misfortune. That the next day *Lepidus* ſeeing his Army march in order with their Enſigns advanced to yield themſelves to *Cæſar*, he offered to ſeize upon an Eagle that a Souldier carried, who inſolently told him he muſt endure it, or it would coſt him his Life: however it was, they all agree that *Lepidus* came to *Cæſar* to beg his Life, which was granted him with his Office of Prieſthood and Eſtate. *Suetonius* alone ſays, that *Cæſar* baniſhed him to *Cyrceum*. In this manner the Authority of the Triumvirate without any Competitor, came wholly into the hands of *Cæſar* and *Anthony*, and though between them they ſhared the greateſt part of the world, even that would not ſuffice their Ambition. *Cæſar* would not ſuffer *Pompey* to be perſued, whether it were, that he feared that carried on by their heat in the Chaſe of him, they would go beyond the bounds of his Dominions, and that *Anthony* would be offended at it, or that he was willing to ſpare the

the Life of one who was not an Accomplice in the murther of his Father. Theſe are the reaſons he gave out, but thoſe who look into the bottom of his Politicks, believe that he was willing to leave an unfortunate Wretch upon *Anthony*'s hands, who might be a conſiderable miſchief to him, but of no uſe at all; for if he received him kindly he took a Companion, who might become very uneaſie to him, and whenever *Cæſar* thought fit would be always an occaſion of a quarrel. On the other ſide in putting him to death, he would draw upon himſelf the averſion of the *Romans*, and the particular hatred of all the party of *Pompey* the Great. Never any *Roman* General was ever at the head of ſo great an Army as was at this time in *Sicilia*, he had there forty five Legions, twenty five thouſand Horſe, one hundred and ſixty thouſand light armed Foot, with ſix hundred ſhips of War, without counting the Barks and ſmaller Veſſels which were without number, and which *Cæſar* reſtored to their particular owners, from whom they had been taken. With ſo much power as this, he ſaw himſelf in a ſtate of being able to undertake any thing, if he had not now been checked by the inſolence of his Souldiers, who out of ſeaſon always gave him ſome occaſion of diſguſt to interrupt the ſatisfaction of his Victories. Though he had diſtributed among them great ſums of Money, and promiſed them much more, though he had given great

great ſtore of military Crowns, and other marks of honour, the Souldiers were not content; when they begin to reflect on their great number they no longer are obedient to Diſcipline, and think it a diſparagement to obtain that by Prayers which they carry by force: it was in this manner that *Cæſar*'s Souldiers asked their diſmiſſion, and the ſame rewards that were granted to thoſe who fought at *Philippi*. *Cæſar* brought himſelf out of this plunge, partly by prayers and partly by threats; he deferred the diſtributing their recompences, till the return of *Anthony*, and told them the *Illyrians* had declared War, and that they were to be vanquiſhed before any thing elſe were done; the Legions refuſed to march before they had ſatisfaction. *Cæſar* commanded to bring out more Crowns, Spears and Bracelets, and even purple Robes for the Officers, giving them the Dignity and rank of Senatours; but a Tribune named *Hoſtitius* inſolently told him *He might keep thoſe Bawbles for Children, that the Souldiers had need of nothing but Money and Land*, all the Army ſhouted at this ſaying: *Cæſar* thereupon in great anger came down from his Tribunal and retired. *Hoſtitius* with other mutineers went even up to his Tent; but the next morning the Tribune was not to be found, which terrified the Souldiers, and made every one conſult his own ſafety. At length *Cæſar* diſmiſt thoſe who had been at the Wars of *Modena* and *Macedonia*, the others

others he pacified by large promiſes, and gave every one five hundred Drachmas which he got out of *Sicilia*, that was condemned to pay him ſix hundred Talents; he eſtabliſhed *Preton* for his Lieutenant in *Africa* and *Sicilia*, where he left the one half of his Troops. He ſent all the ſhips he had of *Anthony* to *Tarentum*, and kept the others with him to carry him into *Italy*, his return to *Rome* was celebrated with all the honours the Senate and people could invent. The Senatours in a Body received him at the Gates of the City, and conducted him to the Capitol followed by all the people, Crowned with Garlands of Flowers; where after he had given thanks to the Gods, they waited on him to his Palace. Seeing himſelf rid of ſo formidable a Rival as *Pompey*, he thought of eſtabliſhing and confirming his power, and to give it ſtronger Foundation, he would begin with the hearts and inclinations of the *Romans* themſelves, putting in practice thoſe wiſe and great Maximes which rendred his Reign ſo happy, as juſtly to acquire it the name of *Auguſt*. He went to the Senate-houſe, where he gave an account of his actions in a very Elegant ſtudied Speech, which he cauſed afterwards to be publiſhed, the concluſion of it was, *That after he had undergone ſo many toils, and paſt through ſo many dangers to put an end to the Civil Wars, he thought himſelf very happy, to ſee his countrey in profound Peace and perfect Union, and that*

to

to make it ſenſible of ſome advantage by it, he remitted all the Arrears that were due to the publick Treaſury of what nature ſoever the Debt were; as for the publick Honours they offered him he onely deſired the Permiſſion to ſacrifice in publick on thoſe days on which he had won his Victories, and a golden Statue in the Forum *with an Inſcription which ſhould declare that the Senate and people of* Rome *had decreed him that Honour, for having given them Peace and quiet both by Sea and Land:* He refuſed the Office of *Pontifex Maximus* which *Lepidus* yet enjoyed, and rejected with anger and ſcorn the Propoſition that was made to put him to death, as an Enemy to his Countrey. He ſent Letters to his Lieutenants with orders to open them exactly all at the ſame hour which he ſpecified, and at the ſame time execute the Contents of them, this concerned the Slaves who were liſted under *Pompey*, and who were declared free by the laſt Agreement made with him; they were all ſeized at the ſame time. *Caſar* reſtored them to their owners, or their heirs, thoſe whoſe Maſters were not to be found, were hanged upon Croſſes near the Cities, from which they had eſcaped: laſt of all to ſecure the publick Peace, he ordered *Sabinus* with his Troops to perſue and bring to puniſhment all the Thieves that were to be found in *Italy* and *Sicily*, and eſtabliſhed at *Rome* ſome Companies for the Guard of the City. All this was executed with ſo much order and diligence

gence, that the *Romans* began to have an extraordinary Veneration for a Man who had ſo great a prudence at the age of twenty eight years. Some Cities in *Italy*, went even to the erecting Altars to him, eſpecially after one gallant thing he did; he found among the Papers of *Pompey* a great number of Letters and Memoirs of the chief Senatours, which were ſufficient to occaſion among them very troubleſome Affairs. He brought them all into the *Forum*, and before all the people threw them all into a fire, proteſting that he there Sacrificed all his private Reſentments to the Commonwealth, with a deſign to give up his Authority as ſoon as *Anthony* ſhould return from the *Parthian* expedition; if this action appeared pleaſing unto the people, the Proteſtation which followed it abſolutely gained the hearts of the *Romans*; they praiſed him to the Skies, and to ſhew that they deſired always to obey him, they choſe him Tribune of the people for all his Life-time. Beſides, by this they thought to oblige him, to quit the more odious Dignity of *Triumvir*; though *Cæſar* underſtood their meaning well enough, he did not decline accepting the Office of perpetual Tribune, which rendred his Perſon ſacred and inviolable; as for the ſuppreſſion of the Triumvirate, he deferred that till *Anthony's* return, and ſent *Bibulus* to communicate to him this reſolution, and after he had diſpoſed of the Government of the provinces he went againſt the *Illyrians*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Pompey *goes into* Aſia, *where he makes War. The Lieutenants of* Anthony *fight and take him. The death of* Pompey.

Pompey was at this time at *Mitilene*, where he underſtood *Anthony* was engaged in a War againſt the *Parthians*, who in ſome encounters had the better of him; and as *Pompey* was a man of no great reach, he preſently imagined that he might take *Anthony*'s poſt in the Eaſt, or at leaſt come in for a ſhare of his Empire. In perſuance of this deſign he ſent to the Kings of *Pontus* and *Thracia*, and to draw them to his party propoſed great advantages to them; he ſent alſo ſome of his Friends to the *Parthian* King to offer him his Service and his Perſon, which he ſuppoſed they made great account of by reaſon of the Reputation of his Father's name. The return of *Anthony* to *Alexandria* did not make him change his intentions, he reſolved onely to ſend to ſalute him, and deſire his Protection: But all this while he ſtill got Ships together, and levied Souldiers under pretence of defending himſelf againſt *Ceſar*. *Anthony* advertiſed of theſe doings, ordered *Titius* to take the Army and Fleet that lay in *Syria*, and go to *Pompey* and make him explain himſelf what he intended to

doe; and either to fight him, or to treat him with all honour and reſpect if he yielded himſelf. In the mean time, thoſe whom *Pompey* had ſent to *Anthony*, had executed their Commiſſion very well, they omitted nothing that might encline him to favour their Maſter; they layed before him the unmeaſurable Ambition of *Cæſar*, and the Protection that *Pompey* had afforded *Julia*, *Anthony*'s Mother; to this they added that reaſon of ſtate abſolutely required, that *Anthony* ſhould put a ſtop to the progreſs of *Cæſar*, and withall the depoſing of *Lepidus* and the Conſequences of that example were not forgot, and the forces of *Pompey* which they magnified, beſides the Glory of protecting the Son of the greateſt Man among the *Romans*. *Anthony*, throughly informed of the truth, to all theſe diſcourſes onely anſwered, *That if what they told him of* Pompey's *intentions were true, he would ſoon confirm it himſelf by coming along with* Titius, *whom he had ſent to him.* But by misfortune to *Pompey* it chanced, that his Envoys he ſent to the *Parthian* King, were taken with their inſtructions. *Anthony* ſhewed them to theſe Deputies who were terribly ſurprized. They begged *Anthony*, he would not impute this perfidiouſneſs to them, and that he would ſuſpend his Reſentment againſt *Pompey*, till he had ſeen what would paſs between *Titius* and him. *Furnius*, *Anthony*'s Lieutenant in *Aſia*, had been obliged to *Pompey*, and not being yet inſtructed how

Anthony

Anthony was inclined, had received him with respect; but seeing he daily gave new occasions of suspicion he sent word of it to *Anthony*, and caused *Domitius* with his Troops to approach: Upon this *Pompey* complained that they looked upon him as an Enemy, and yet he all this while carried on a private Intrigue, to gain *Pomilius* by the means of *Curius* who was in his Army; but *Curius* being taken and executed as a Traitour, *Pompey* immediately made away with *Theodorus* one of his freed Men, who onely was privy to the whole secret, and when he believed, that it was quite smothered and hush'd up, he seized upon *Lampsacus* a strong City, and well peopled with *Italians*, with whom he augmented his Forces: he had already on Foot three Legions and two hundred Horse, which gave him the boldness to besiege *Cyzicum*; being beaten from thence, *Furnius* who was much stronger than he in Horse charged him in his retreat. *Pompey* laid an Ambuscade for him, where *Furnius* lost some men, and this advantage which passed for a great Victory, drew into his Service several vagabond Souldiers out of *Mysia* and the *Propontis*. These succours made him think on vast designs: He assaulted and took *Nice* and *Nicomedia*, where he got good store of money but no provisions, which he stood most in need of, because *Furnius* with his Cavalry cut them off from him every way. And as soon as *Titius* arrived at *Proconnesus* with a strong

Army and a great many Ships, *Caſſius* of *Parma*, *Naſidius*, *Saturninus*, *Thermus* and *Antiſtius* all noble *Romans* treated with *Titius*, and yielded themſelves to *Anthony*; but that which quite made an end of ruining him, was the defection of *Fannius* and *Libo* his Father-in-Law, who were a great ſtay to his party, by their credit and their merit; he would have retreated through the plains of *Bithynia*, but *Titius*, *Furnius* and *Amintas* oppoſed his retreat, and as they were much ſtronger than he, it gave them ſo much Confidence, that they would not take the pains to fortifie their Camp. *Pompey* undertook with three thouſand Legionary Souldiers to force it, and charging them in the night, he put them into ſo great diſorder, that there could be no reaſon given, why he did not utterly defeat them, unleſs it were his unlucky fate. They after had time to rally, and hemmed him on every ſide, which forced him to demand a conference with *Furnius*. *Pompey* offered to yield himſelf to him or to *Amintas*, who was a foreign Prince. *Furnius* told him, *That neither he nor* Amintas *would receive him in prejudice of* Titius, *who had orders concerning him from* Anthony, *and that in the condition he was then, he had more need to think of ſaving himſelf, than of ſowing Diviſion among them.* *Pompey* then reproached *Furnius* with the favour he had done him, in ſaving him when he was in his hands, and very much inſiſted he ſhould not

not yield himſelf to *Titius*, who treated him very ungratefully. *Furnius* though he had an extreme regret could not conſent to it; and *Pompey* retired quite beſides himſelf with grief. He forbid any fire ſhould be made in his Camp, and fiercely marched away with the moſt reſolute of his Souldiers, with a deſign to burn *Titius* his Ships; and it may be, this enterprize might have ſucceeded if by a total exceſs of misfortune, he had not been betrayed by *Scaurus*. This perfidious man left him to yield himſelf to the Enemies whom he advertiſed of *Pompey*'s deſign, which he onely conjectured at. *Amintas* was detached with fifteen hundred Horſe to perſue him, and ſoon overtook *Pompey* who had onely foot with him; all his Souldiers abandoned him, ſo that he was forced to yield upon diſcretion to *Amintas*, who carried him to *Titius*: all the reſt of his Forces ſurrendred themſelves to this General, who ſent *Pompey* to *Miletus*, where he ſacrificed him to his Reſentment. For which the *Romans* conceived ſuch a hatred to *Titius*, that ſome time afterwards they drove him out of the *Circus*, where he gave them publick Games, and in effect it was always doubted, whether *Titius* received orders from *Anthony*, or whether *Plancus* who commanded in *Syria*, did not abuſe the Name and Signet of his General, to put *Pompey* to death, out of fear, leſt *Cleopatra* ſhould ſave him for his Fa-

ther's sake, or to make use of him for an occasion of division between *Cæsar* and *Anthony*. Thus fell the youngest Son of *Pompey* the Great at the age of forty years, after he had for some time maintained and kept up his Father's faction; as much by his own valour as the assistence of that great Name: Beside that, Wisedom did not go along with his courage; he had to doe with two, whereof one was the wisest, and the other the bravest Captain of their time. He had too the misfortune of having none about him, but people whose Souls as mean as their extraction were not capable by their Counsels to raise his vulgar Genius. This it was that made him loose so many fair opportunities, and at last precipitated him into his destruction at last.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

The cauſes of the diviſion between Anthony *and* Cæſar. Anthony's *unfortunate expedition againſt the* Parthians; *his return to* Alexandria.

IT was believed, that the death of *Pompey* would have eſtabliſhed a Peace through all the World, eſpecially ſince *Anthony* and *Cæſar* might in the extent and riches of the *Roman* Empire, find all that was capable of ſatisfying their Ambition. It was very probable too, that their diſtance might take away all occaſions of jealouſie that daily grow between Perſons, whoſe Authority is equal, and who are often together. But yet by their management of Affairs it was quickly ſeen, which has been confirmed by ſo many examples, that the deſire of reigning obſerves no meaſures, and the moſt ſacred things. The Paſſion of *Anthony* for *Cleopatra*, and the gifts he daily gave her of the Provinces that belonged to the *Roman* Empire, ſerved *Cæſar* for a pretext to renew the War, and free himſelf from a Competitor, who was ſo formidable, both by his valour, and his Reputation in the opinion of the Souldiery. *Anthony* had added to *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, the lower *Syria*, the Iſle of *Cyprus* and a great part of *Cilicia*, beſides *Arabia* the happy and that part of *Judæa*, where the true Balſame grows, and all this before he went to the *Parthian* War,

Theſe Preſents that he made to a foreign Princeſs at the *Romans* coſt, very much diſpleaſed them; and as they had nothing of their ancient Liberty left them, but the privilege of cenſuring the actions of their Governours, there were daily publiſhed at *Rome* very ſcurrilous diſcourſes of *Anthony*'s prodigality. *Cæſar* abetted theſe murmurings, and privately encouraged them who were diſcontented, whenas they farther heard at *Rome*, that *Anthony* had given foreign Names to the Children he had by *Cleopatra*, calling the Son *Alexander*, and the daughter *Cleopatra*; and adding to them the Sirnames of the Sun and Moon. *Anthony* had yet remaining in *Rome* ſeveral Friends, who gave him notice of the diſcourſes that went in his prejudice; whereupon he publiſhed an Apology for himſelf, wherein he affirmed, that the Grandeur of the Empire of the *Romans* was not more conſpicuous for the Conqueſts, they made than for the liberality they practiſed in beſtowing the conquered Provinces, and that true Nobility was multiplyed by the poſterity that ſovereign Princes left in ſeveral places; and that was the reaſon that obliged *Hercules*, from whom he derived himſelf, not to ſubject himſelf to the ſingle tye of a Lawfull wife, but to leave the foundation of ſeveral illuſtrious Races in all parts of the Earth, where he extended his Conqueſts. Theſe falſe reaſons with which he endeavoured to juſtifie his

Paſſion

Paſſion ſeemed abominable to the *Romans*, who made profeſſion of a ſtricter Morality. At this time too, it was that *Anthony* marched againſt the *Parthians* with thirteen Legions, ten thouſand *Gallick* or *Spaniſh* Horſe, and above thirty thouſand other light armed Foot and Horſe; but this great preparation that made all the Eaſt tremble, ſerved onely to render his retreat more ſhamefull, and to make him looſe that great Reputation which he had gained in all other occaſions; at the very firſt the *Parthians* ſlew one of his Lieutenants, and entirely defeated two Legions, and even *Anthony* himſelf was reduced to ſuch extremities, that he often deſpaired of his own ſafety. At laſt after he had loſt the fourth part of his Troops, and all his baggage and Engines of Artillary, or Engines, he ſaved himſelf in *Armenia*, by the advice of a *Roman* who had been a Priſoner among the *Parthians* ever ſince the death of *Craſſus*. This man counſelled him to leave the Plains and gain the Mountains, where though the ways were difficult, yet he was free from the inſults and attacks of the Enemy, all whoſe force conſiſted in their Cavalry. But though *Anthony* in this War behaved himſelf with his uſual bravery; nevertheleſs the loſs he ſuſtained of his beſt Souldiers, and the ſhamefull retreat of ſuch a General as he, who in all likelyhood was once able to have conquered his Enemies, made an end of ruining

his

his Reputation. It is said, that all these misfortunes were the consequences of his Passion for the Queen of *Ægypt*, for that he had begun the War in a wrong season; and that he finished it too soon; and lastly, that he had taken no measures rightly, but those that might hasten his return to *Cleopatra*, even to the neglecting all that advantage that was offered him by the division of the *Parthians* and the *Medes*. But that which principally outraged the *Romans* was, the taking *Artabazus* King of *Armenia*, whom *Anthony* led in Triumph into *Alexandria*: the Pride of *Rome* could not bear, that a *Roman* General should impart that honour to a foreign Nation, and that she should be deprived of the advantage of insulting over vanquished Kings, which for so many years she had enjoyed. *Cæsar* made all these faults of *Anthony* be taken notice of, and above all exaggerated the little value he had for his Countrey; when he found their spirits sufficiently exasperated against him, he resolved to send *Octavia* to her Husband, to the end he might have a plausible occasion to declare War if he should offer her the affront of sending her back without seeing her. *Anthony* was then at *Leucopolis*, between *Tyre* and *Sidon*, where he stayed for *Cleopatra* with an impatience he was not able to conceal: what means soever he used to amuse himself and forget her in the pleasures of his Debauches, he daily left the Table to run

to

to the Sea-ſide, to ſee if the Queen were not coming: at laſt ſhe came, bringing with her great quantity of Clothing for the Souldiers and a vaſt Sum of money; at leaſt *Anthony* gave her the honour of it when he diſtributed it; though it is believed it all came out of his own Pocket. Almoſt at the ſame time *Niger* arrived, ſent by *Octavia*, who ſtayed at *Athens*, from whence ſhe ſent him word that ſhe had brought him Clothes and Arms, Horſes and Preſents for his Officers; and that ſhe had brought him 2000 choſen Souldiers all well armed. This was very heavy news for the Queen: ſhe feared with a great deal of reaſon, that the vertue of *Octavia* joined with the conſideration of her brother would deprive her of the Heart of *Anthony*, and that ſhe could not prevail againſt ſo powerfull a Rival, the moment ſhe appeared. She bethought her ſelf to feign a deep Melancholy: ſhe abſtained from almoſt all kind of food on purpoſe to make herſelf lean; and when ſhe was near *Anthony*, ſhe beheld him with languiſhing eyes, after a very paſſionate manner, as one quite beſides her ſelf with Love; ſhe let fall Tears in his preſence, and turned away her Face, as if ſhe deſired to hide from him thoſe marks of her grief. And beſides all this, their Flatterers told *Anthony*, that *he was very cruel and hard hearted to let a beautifull Princeſs, who loved him with ſo much Paſſion, languiſh ſo for him; that her ſorrow was ready to take away her life, which*

ſhe

she onely kept for his sake: that Octavia *ought to be contented with being considered as his Wife, though he married her but by constraint and upon a politick account; whereas such a great Queen as* Cleopatra *had no more but the title of his Mistress, and yet thought he did her a great deal of honour, if he would be so gratious to her as not to send her from his presence, which she could not bear without the loss of her life.* These Flatteries prevailed so much upon *Anthony*'s weakness, that they quite turned his thoughts in favour of *Cleopatra.* He broke off his enterprize against the *Parthians* notwithstanding all the instances of the King of the *Medes* who offered to join with him and oppose the Enemies with his Cavalry accustomed to their way of Fighting, who when they were backed by the *Roman* Legions would have totally defeated them. He onely contented himself to make a match between one of the Sons he had by *Cleopatra* and a Daughter of that King. And after he had sent word to *Octavia* she should return to *Rome*, he waited on *Cleopatra* back to *Alexandria*, where he passed the Winter in all kind of Pleasures.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Cæſar *accuſes* Anthony *in the Senate. He declares War againſt* Anthony. *His Forces.*

CÆſar was not at all ſurprized at the Contempt *Anthony* ſhewed for *Octavia*, but yet he teſtified an extreme Reſentment for it. As ſoon as ever his Siſter came to *Rome* he ordered her to leave *Anthony*'s houſe where ſhe had always lived; and it was upon this occaſion that *Octavia* made her vertue be admired: She ſaid, *Though ſhe had a great reſpect for her brother, yet ſhe could not diſpenſe with her ſelf to obey him; and therefore conjured him not to force her to quit the houſe of a perſon ſhe would always honour as her husband, in ſpight of his inconſtancy; and begged him to forget all the reſentment he might have for an injury which onely regnarded her alone*; adding moreover, *that her intereſt ought not to oblige him to declare himſelf* Anthony's *enemy, ſince it would be a very ſhamefull thing if it ſhould one day be ſaid, that the love of one woman and the jealouſie of another had carried two perſons that governed ſuch a great Empire to plunge the* Romans *into the miſchiefs of a Civil-war.* *Cæſar* left his Siſter at her liberty, to doe as ſhe pleaſed; and indeed the carriage of *Octavia* did not belye her words. She always kept at *Anthony*'s houſe, and took an extra-

extraordinary care of the education of his Children, without making any distinction between her own Children and those he had by *Fulvia*. She took into her protection all those whom her Husband sent to *Rome* to sue for Offices. She assisted their Pretensions with the Authority she had with the People; and never left importuning her Brother till she had obtained for them what they desired. But nothing did more prejudice *Anthony*'s interest than this behaviour of *Octavia*, though it were quite against her intention; this great generosity of hers made her Husband's ill usage of a person of her worth seem the more odious, was that which purchased the general hatred of the *Romans*; which was yet more confirmed by what he did at *Alexandria*. *Anthony* intending as it were to spight the *Romans*, to dispose of the Provinces of his Dominions in favour of *Cleopatra* and her Children, erected a Throne of Silver in the *Gymnasium*, the place where the young men performed their bodily Exercises: Upon this Throne were two Seats of Gold, one for him, and another for *Cleopatra*; and there in presence of all the People he declared her Queen of *Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, *Lydia* and lower *Syria*, associating with her *Cæsarion*, the Son she had by *J. Cæsar*. To the Children which he had by her he gave the Title of *King of Kings*; and for their Dominions, to *Alexander*, the eldest, he allotted *Armenia*, *Media* and *Parthia*, which he pretended to conquer in a little

little time. *Ptolemy*, the younger, had *Phœnicia*, upper *Syria* and *Cilicia*: then they appeared, *Alexander* in a long *Median* Veſt, with a high *Cidaris* and *Tiara*, which was the mark of Sovereignty among thoſe Nations. *Ptolemy* had *Grecian* Buskins, a royal Mantle and a large Hat adorned with a Diadem, after the manner of the *Macedonian* Kings, the Succeſſors of *Alexander*. Thus habited, they came to thank *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, who embraced them, and immediately two Companies of Guards, all choſen handſome perſons, the one *Armenians*, the other *Macedonians*, were drawn up near theſe young Princes. But that which appeared moſt remarkable in this Solemnity was, that *Cleopatra* appeared dreſt like the Goddeſs *Iſis*, and ever after, when ſhe appeared in publick, ſhe always wore that habit; and all her Edicts and Decrees were ever after received as Oracles of the New *Iſis*. *Cæſar* then thought it was a convenient time openly to declare himſelf: he accuſed *Anthony* of all theſe Attempts againſt the Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire before the Senate and the People of *Rome*. *Anthony* ſent to *Rome* to make his defence, and to complain of *Cæſar*. He ſaid, *He had ſeized upon all* Sicily, *without giving him any ſhare; that he had diſpoſſeſſed* Lepidus, *and kept all his Governments for himſelf; and that he had divided all* Italy *among his Souldiers, and reſerved nothing for thoſe that ſerved in* Aſia. To theſe Accuſations *Cæſar* anſwered, *That, as for*

for Lepidus, *he was obliged to depose him for his conduct, for which he was justly punished: for the Conquests he had made, he was willing to share them with* Anthony, *when he would divide* Armenia *which he had conquered; and for the Souldiers that served with* Anthony, *there was no likelyhood that they would desire some pitifull lands in* Italy *after they had conquered* Media *and the Empire of the* Parthians *by the great Exploits they had done in following their General. Anthony* was so nettled with this Jear, that he ordered *Canidius*, who commanded his Army, to march without intermission towards the Sea-coasts with sixteen Legions to pass over into *Europe*, and he himself with *Cleopatra* came to *Ephesus*, where his Lieutenants had got together eight hundred Vessels, whereof *Cleopatra* furnished two hundred with * twenty thousand Talents and Provisions for all his Forces. *Anthony*, by the Advice of *Domitius*, resolved to send back the Queen into *Ægypt* till the War was ended; but she, fearing lest *Octavia* should make an advantage of this opportunity to come to her Husband and make a Peace, she, by great Presents, gained *Canidius* to represent to *Anthony*, *That it was not just to drive away a Princess with disgrace, who alone maintained almost all the expence of the War. That, besides, her departure would deprive him of the assistence of the* Ægyptians, *who were the best part of his Navy. And that he knew there was no King among the Allies to whom* Cleopatra

* *Three Millions.*

tra *yielded in prudence or understanding, as it appeared by the manner of her governing so mighty a Kingdom; besides the experience she had gained in her long acquaintance with* Anthony, *whereby she had perfectly instructed hir self in the management of the most important affairs.* The good fortune of *Cæsar* and *Anthony*'s evil destiny caused this Counsel to take place. *Cleopatra* stayed, and they went to *Samos*, where, for preparation for so great an enterprise, they began with all the pleasures that could be devised; their care was very pleasantly divided; on one side all the Kings, Princes and Nations from *Ægypt* to the *Euxine* Sea, and from *Armenia* to *Dalmatia*, had order to send Arms, Provisions and Souldiers to *Samos*; on the other, all the Comedians, Dancers, Musicians and Bouffons were obliged to come to this Isle: so that sometimes a Ship that was thought to be laden with Souldiers, who conveyed a considerable succour of Arms and Amunition, proved to be laden with Players, Scenes and Machines, for the Stage; and whilst all the rest of the World was in extreme desolation, Joy and all kinds of pleasure ruled here, as if they had all made choice of this place to retire to: But how magnificent soever their entertainments were, they wanted their chiefest relish which was confidence, for *Anthony*'s displeasures had sowred his temper to that degree that he, as to make him suspect *Cleopatra* her self, ate of no thing with her with-

out a Taster: but as this Precaution seemed to be very injurious to *Cleopatra*, she undertook to let him see that it was in vain to stand upon his guard against her adress. She always added life to the entertainment by her pleasant company, so that once at a meal she proposed a new kind of diversion of drinking one anothers Garlands, which, according to the mode of those times, all the Guests were crowned with, dipping the Flowers of them in the Wine. *Anthony* applauded the Frolick, and would begin it with *Cleopatra*'s Garland, as she very well foresaw; all the outside Flowers of it were poisoned, the Garland was pulled to pieces and put into a golden Cup full of Wine which *Anthony* was just carrying to his Lips when *Cleopatra* told him, *My Lord*, said she, *now know* Cleopatra *better, and learn by this example, that all the Precautions signifie nothing against her, if her heart were not interested in your preservation*; *whereupon by her order a Criminal was immediately brought, who drank the poisoned Wine, and expired upon the place.* This Action cured *Anthony* of his suspicion, or at least made him leave off troublesome Precaution, which it seems was but useless against the art of this Princess, who could so skilfully mingle inevitable Snares of death among her pleasures. Every City of *Anthony*'s Empire had a share in these Sacrifices and sent an Ox thither to be offered: and the Kings who accompanied him contended who

should

ſhould make the nobleſt entertainments; ſo that it was asked by one, *What rejoicing they would make for a Victory, who made ſuch magnificent Treats juſt before a bloudy War.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Anthony (*with* Cleopatra) *goes to* Athens. Plancus *and ſeveral others of his Friends forſake him.*

THE ſtay *Anthony* made at *Samos* was very favourable; for *Cæſar* had made no proviſion for the War, by reaſon all *Italy* mutinied againſt him, becauſe of the impoſition he laid upon the People. The news of *Anthony*'s approach with ſuch formidable Forces had augmented this diſorder and quite aſtoniſhed the *Romans:* but when they ſaw that all theſe Preparations ſerved onely to fill the publick Places and the Theatres of the Iſle of *Samos*, *Cæſar* reaſſured them; and after he had appeaſed the People, who grumbled according to cuſtome when money was demanded; though when they have payed, they never think of it afterwards: He put himſelf into a poſture of diſputing the Empire with Forces equal to his Enemy. And now *Cleopatra*, envying the honours ſhe had received at *Athens*, had likewiſe a deſire to ſee that

City, and was carried thither by *Anthony*; ſhe diſtributed great Gifts to the *Athenians*, who in recompence were not behind-hand with their uſual Flatteries: they accorded honours beyond the condition of mortals; and the moſt noble Citizens were deputed to carry her the Decree. *Anthony*, in the capacity of a Citizen of *Athens*, would be the chief of the Embaſſy, he was Spokeſman and harangued the Queen in the name of the People: At length, to give her the utmoſt of his Paſſion, he ſent order to *Octavia* to goe out of his houſe: ſhe obeyed, without murmuring at this horrible piece of injuſtice, and retired to her own houſe, and all *Anthony*'s Children with her, except *Antyllus*, who was with his Father. She onely lamented her hard fate, becauſe ſhe was forced to ſerve for a pretence to a War, whoſe conſequences muſt needs be fatal to her. Several of *Anthony*'s friends not being able any longer to bear with his diſorders, abandoned him: but it was not this nor the choice of a better ſide that made *Plancus* leave him, onely Inconſtancy, the natural diſeaſe of his mind: he had been the baſeſt and moſt ſordid of *Cleopatra*'s Flatterers, and had abaſed himſelf to the loweſt employments about *Anthony*; even to the writing his bawdy Letters and being his Pimp. And though he had been Conſul, General of an Army, and Governour of a Province, he was not aſhamed to appear at a Feaſt among the Actors in a Play and repreſent *Glaucus*,

Glaucus, a Sea God. It was doubtleſs a very pleaſant ſpectacle to ſee a man of his quality naked and painted green, and crowned with Reeds, with a long Beard down to his middle, and a huge Tail of a Fiſh, dancing upon his Knees, and making a hundred ridiculous poſtures: nor did this Action fail of making him be ſcorned. *Anthony* abuſed him and reproached him for ſome Extortions whereof he was accuſed, which ſoon made him reſolve to goe to *Cæſar* with *Titius* who was his Nephew. When he came to *Rome*, he accuſed *Anthony* before the Senate of ſeveral Crimes with ſo much heat, that *Coponius* could not forbear ſaying to him, *Sure you never obſerved theſe Crimes of* Anthony *but the evening before your departure*: by which he reproached either his baſeneſs in enduring thoſe Crimes ſo long, or his ſottiſhneſs not to find them out ſooner. But *Pollio*'s proceeding was as generous as *Plancus*'s was infamous. *Pollio* had retired into *Italy* after the Peace was made at *Tarentum*; nor had he ever ſeen *Cleopatra* or ſerved under *Anthony* ſince his Intrigue with that Princeſs: yet when *Cæſar* preſſed him to follow him in this War, he frankly ſaid, *I have ſerved* Anthony *better perhaps than he has rewarded me; but however the Courteſies he has done me are more known than the Services I have done him; and therefore, without engaging my ſelf in your quarrels, I intend quietly to ſtay here, and be at the diſcretion of the Conquerour.* An-

thony's Will and Teſtament was at *Rome*, in the hands of the Veſtals, and *Plancus* it was who gave *Cæſar* notice of it, who, as he would omit nothing that might ſerve his deſigns, demanded the ſight of it: the Veſtals refuſed to deliver it into his hands; but by an equivocating turn they told him, *If he would come and fetch it, they would not hinder him.* *Cæſar* went and took it; and when he had it, he choſe out the Places that were moſt odious in it, and read them in full Senate. But this action was not approved of at all. They ſaid, *It was againſt the courſe of nature to puniſh a man whilſt living for what he ordered to be done when he was dead.* *Cæſar* chiefly inſiſted upon *Anthony*'s diſpoſing of his Sepulture: he ordained, *That if he dyed in* Rome, *his body ſhould be carried in funeral pomp through the principal places of the City, and then ſent into* Ægypt *to* Cleopatra. But all the buſtle that *Cæſar* made upon this occaſion did not ſucceed according to his wiſh; ſo that he was forced to goe to work another way. *Calviſius* accuſed *Anthony* publickly, *That he had given* Cleopatra *the famous Library of the Kings of* Pergamus *compoſed of two hundred thouſand Volumes*; *That he had trod on her Toe at a publick entertainment, and permitted the* Epheſians *to give her the quality of their Sovereign in his preſence.* But more particularly he inſiſted on two Articles: One was, *That* Anthony, *having received Love-letters from* Cleopatra, *he had read them*

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in his Tribunal, where he ſate judging the differences of ſeveral Kings of Aſia. The other, *That one day, when* Furnius *the moſt eloquent Orateur among the* Romans *was pleading before him, he left the Orator and the Audience to follow* Cleopatra's *litter that by chance paſs'd by.* Nothing gives us a truer Image of the *Roman* gravity than this Paſſage in the Hiſtory. The heads of this Accuſation, that at preſent appear frivolous and ridiculous, were all neverthelefs ſeriouſly propoſed by *Calviſius.* Nay, *Plutarch* affirms, they were ſuch ſhrewd ones, that the Accuſer invented one part of them. Certain it is that they appeared of that moment and weight to *Anthony*'s Friends, that they began to beſtir themſelves and ſolicit in his favour, to hinder the Decree of the Senate, by which he was to be declared an Enemy to the Senate and People of *Rome.* Therefore they ſent *Geminius* to *Athens* to make the laſt attempt upon his Temper. The arrival of this man ſo much alarmed *Cleopatra*, that ſhe offered him a hundred ſignal Affronts and ſeveral very abuſive Jears. But he not being mortified at it, ſhe cauſed *Anthony* one day to ask him the cauſe of his coming. *Geminius* anſwered, *That things of that nature were not to be talked of over a bottle*; and, *that it was neceſſary to be ſober and faſting when they were to be examined; but this he was ſure of, that both before and after a Debauch he ſaw matters would goe well enough, if* Cleopatra *were ſent into* Ægypt.

Anthony was troubled at this diſcourſe, and *Cleopatra* ſaid to *Geminius*, *You doe very wiſely to own the truth, without ſtaying till it is extorted from you by torments.* *Geminius* did not think it convenient to ſtay for the effect of this Threat, but fled to *Rome*, followed by ſeveral other *Romans* who were diſguſted at the audaciouſneſs of *Cleopatra* and the inſolence of her Paraſites. The moſt conſiderable perſons of thoſe who forſook them were *Syllanus* and the famous *Dellius*, who at a meal where the Wine was not to his mind ſaid, *That they made them drink Vinegar there, whilſt at* Rome, Sarmentus *drank* Falernian *Wine.* This *Sarmentus* was a kind of a Bouffon to *Caſar.* As there is in all Courts ſome certain moments when every thing that is ſpoke is interpreted to have a ſecret meaning in it; This raillery of *Dellius* was ſo ill taken by *Cleopatra*, that ſhe gave order to have him murthered. *Dellius*, who had notice of it, and not being willing to hazard himſelf to gain the reputation of a reſolute man upon this occaſion, was it may be glad of the opportunity to follow his inclination, and juſtly deſerve the name of Vaulter, which afterwards *Meſſala* gave him at *Rome.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Forces of Cæſar *and* Anthony. *They write ſharp Letters to each other.* Cæſar *approaches* Anthony's *Army which lay at* Actium.

NO ſooner did *Cæſar* find himſelf ſtrong enough to carry on the War, but he publickly proclaimed it againſt *Cleopatra*, and abrogated the Authority of *Anthony*, who had already in a manner parted with it in favour of that Princeſs. The Decree implied beſides, *That* Anthony *was no longer Maſter of his own will, by reaſon* Cleopatra *with her Philtres had taken away the very uſe of his reaſon; ſo that he was not to be accounted as any body in this War, which was onely managed by* Mardion *her Eunuch, and* Iras *and* Charmia *her Women, who abſolutely governed* Anthony's *Empire.* The Prodigies too were not forgot: *The Town of* Piſaurum *that* Anthony *had rebuilt on the ſhoar of the* Adriatick *Sea was ſwallowed up by an Earthquake. At* Alva *a Statue of this* Triumvir *ſweat for many days together. The Temple of* Hercules *at* Patras *was burnt by Lightning.* And *at* Athens *the Image of* Bacchus *that ſtood among ſeveral other Images of the Gods was alone overthrown by the Wind.* The ſame thing happened to two *Coloſſus*'s called the *Antonii.* Laſt of all, *The* Swallows *that had built their*

their nests in the Poop of Cleopatra's *Admiral Galley were driven away by other* Swallows *who destroyed what the former had made.* All these were explained very justly, but 'twas after *Anthony*'s Defeat. The Forces of the two *Triumviri* were answerable to the Empire they shared between them; nor were there ever seen two so great Powers oppose each other. *Anthony* commanded over all the Provinces from *Armenia* and the Red-sea to the *Adriatick* Gulph and the *Euxine* Sea; and *Cesar* had all those from *Sicily* to the Ocean. All the Kings of *Asia* that were Allies to the *Romans* followed the fortune of *Anthony*; namely, *Tarcondemus* King of *Cilicia*, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* of *Comagena* of *Thrace*, these Princes were in person in his Army. But *Polemon* King of *Pontus*, *Malchus* King of *Arabia*, *Herod* King of the *Jews*, and *Amintas* King of *Galatia*, onely sent their Troops; besides these, *Bacchus* King of *Mauritania*, who brought his along with him; all these together made an hundred thousand Foot and twelve thousand Horse. The Navy was composed of five hundred Ships of War, whereof some had eight or ten Banks of Oars. *Cesar* in his Party had no foreign Princes, and his Army amounted to but eighty thousand; but he was as strong in Cavalry as his Enemy. He had but two hundred and fifty Vessels, all light, and very well manned with Sailers, Rowers and Souldiers; where-

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as thoſe of *Anthony* were vaſt, high and heavy, and wanted Rowers; ſo that he was forced to take up all the Artiſans and Labourers of *Greece* to employ them at the Oar. Then their Hatred ſhewed it ſelf by very bitter Letters; and when *Cæſar* reproached *Anthony* with his Love for *Cleopatra* and the Prodigality of his Feaſts, he on the other ſide put him in mind of the famous Feaſts of the twelve Gods, where *Cæſar* and the other Gueſts were clad as they repreſented the Deities they adored. To this he added his haſty marriage with *Livia*, and the ſhamefull divorcing of *Scribonia* becauſe ſhe would not bear with the Inſolence of that new Miſtreſs; and all the *Roman* Ladies with whom *Cæſar* had ever had any Gallantry or Intrigue were brought upon the Stage. He even proceeded to tax him with Cowardiſe at the Battels of *Modena* and *Sicily*, with all thoſe ſcandalous Circumſtances that were mentioned before; whereupon *Cæſar* wrote to him, *That it was needleſs to fight any longer with the Pen. That if he would advance with his Army he ſhould have Ports in* Italy *where he ſhould land without any moleſtation; and that* Cæſar *would draw his Troops far enough from the Sea-ſide, to give* Anthony *the liberty of encamping, and putting his Army into Battalia.* To make a return to this Bravade; *Anthony*, though he were much older, challenged *Cæſar* to fight a ſingle combat; or if he liked not this, he offer'd to give him Battel in the Plain of

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Pharſalia, where *J. Cæſar* and *Pompey* had formerly decided their Differences. So each of the Generals endeavoured to manage it to his own advantage, in ſtriving to make his own Dominions the field of Combat. But Fortune ordered it ſhould be otherwiſe. At that time *Anthony* was at *Actium*, where, while he ſpent his time to no purpoſe, *Cæſar* went from *Tarentum*, where his Fleet lay, and ſurprized *Toryne*, a City near *Actium*. This Exploit aſtoniſhed *Anthony*'s Souldiers, becauſe his Legions were not yet arrived. But *Cleopatra*, to re-aſſure them, made ſlight of it, and ſaid, *What matter is it if* Cæſar *has taken the Scummer*, alluding to the word *Toryne* which ſignifies ſo. The Town of *Actium*, which this action has made ſo famous, was ſeated upon a point at the entrance of the Gulf of *Ambracia* on the Coaſt of *Epirus*, between the Iſlands of *Corcyra* and *Cephalonia*. *Anthony* had retired all his Ships into the Gulf, whither *Cæſar*, the next day after the taking of *Toryne* came and offered him Battel. *Anthony* was at a grievous plunge becauſe his Veſſels wanted Souldiers to man them. But that drew them into their fighting poſture with the Oars a-peek, as if he intended to bear down upon the Enemy. This ſtrategeme had its effect. *Cæſar*, who durſt not engage him in that narrow paſſage, retreated off to Sea, but the other came not off the Gulf, and as he perfectly knew the Countrey thereabouts, on every ſide he cut off

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the Water from *Cæsar*'s Camp, which threw his Army into great distress. *Agrippa* omitted not to take the Cities of *Leucadia* and *Petras*, and seize upon *Corinth*. These happy Successes occasioned *Amintas* and *Dejotarus* to declare for *Cæsar*. *Domitius*, carried on by their Example, saved himself in a Cock-boat, and came to *Cæsar*, whose side he did not much favour by his revolt, because *Anthony*, according to his natural generosity, sent him his People and all his Equipage, though it were against the opinion of *Cleopatra* her self, which so sensibly touch'd *Domitius* who was sick already, that he was not able to out-live the grief of abandoning a man who by kindness revenged himself for his perfidiousness. In the mean time *Canidius* arrived with the Legions, who as he saw the danger nearer, he changed his mind concerning *Cleopatra:* He would have had *Anthony* send back the Queen, and himself goe into *Macedonia*, and fight by Land with so much more advantage, because *Dicomes*, King of the *Getes*, promised him a powerfull assistence. Then said *Canidius*, *One ought not to regard a false kind of shame, in having* Cæsar *Master of the Sea, where his Souldiers had gained a great deal of experience during the War with* Pompey. *That it would be a renouncing both sense and reason, to put to the hazard of the Sea and Winds a Victory which by Land they were certain of by the Valour and Experience of their General, who to this day had kept up*

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the title of Invincible; *and by the Courage of their Souldiers whom he had tried in so many dangers.* *Anthony* was very much inclined to follow this Advice; but *Cleopatra* byassed him the other way, and obliged him against his will to hazard both his Empire and his Life in a Sea-fight. Here also it was that *Anthony* had like to have fallen into a very great danger. And this may serve for an Instruction to persons of his rank, not too freely to expose themselves, when they are near the Enemies. They had made a kind of Causey, which ran out very far into the Sea, to go from *Anthony*'s Camp to his Fleet; as he passed often in this place without any distrust, and slenderly accompanied; some of *Cæsar*'s Souldiers having notice of it by a Slave, made out a Party to carry him off; and came so near, that they took the Officer that marched before him: they had likewise taken *Anthony*, if their Impatience had not discovered them too soon; he had much a-doe to save himself; and *Cæsar*'s men retreated with their Prisoner, extremely troubled at their too much haste.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The battel of Actium. *The retreat of* Cleopatra. *The flight of* Anthony. Cæſar *makes himſelf Maſter of* Anthony's *Navy and his Land-forces.*

Anthony having taken a reſolution to fight by Sea, burnt all his ſhips of burthen, except ſixty that belonged to *Cleopatra*, and of his Men of War kept only thoſe that had from three to ten Rows or Oars, which he manned with twenty two thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Archers. As he was putting his Fleet into order of battel, and going about to give his neceſſary orders, an old Officer, a very brave man, and all covered with Scars, thus ſpoke to him aloud, *My noble General, Do you deſpiſe this Sword and this Arm, which my very wounds have not been able to weaken: That you will place your hopes in brittle Boats? Leave the* Ægyptians *and* Phœnicians *to fight at Sea, but put us aſhore where we are uſed to meet or give death with a firm foot and an aſſured look.* *Anthony* anſwered nothing, he onely made a ſign with his head, as if it were to encourage him, though he himſelf did not ſeem as if he were very well aſſured, for when the Commanders of his ſhips propoſed taking away the Sails he oppoſed it; ſaying, *He would not have one*

of

of the Enemies eſcape: for four days together, the Sea ran ſo high, that it was impoſſible to fight the fifth; the Wind was down, and then the two Fleets advanced towards each other with their Oars in very good order. It was a terrible but a very noble ſight, and worthy the reward they contended for, to ſee on one ſide the Shore, where there were two hundred thouſand Men all at their Arms, and on the other ſide the Sea covered with an incredible number of Veſſels filled with Men; who were juſt ready to employ both Fire and Steel for each others deſtruction. * *Anthony* was at the right Diviſion of his Navy, where *Publicola* commanded: *Calius* was upon the left, or according to other Authours *Soſius*. *Marcus Octavius* with *Inſteius* was in the Centre. *Agrippa Cæſar*'s General kept in the middle of the Fleet, having *Carius* upon the right, and *Aruntu* upon the left: *Cæſar* himſelf onely kept the Command of a reſerve to carry relief where it was needfull; they tell us nothing more of the order of the two Fleets, but we may believe, that the Veſſels that *Cæſar* commanded made a ſecond Line or Diviſion, and that *Cleopatra* with her Gallies did the ſame in *Anthony*'s. This General in a *Brigantine* went about encouraging his Men with the remembrance of ſo many Victories they had gained under his Conduct. He told them, *That this day he expected the Empire of the World from their valour, and that*

* Anno ab U. c. 721. *Thirty one years before Jeſus Chriſt.*

that they might promiſe themſelves anſwerable rewards; that the largeneſs of his Veſſels gave them opportunity of fighting as firmly, and with as much aſſurance as if they were on Land; and for this reaſon he ordered the Pilots not to quit their Poſts, but expect the Enemies at the entrance of the Gulf. *Cæſar* on his ſide gave no leſs hopes to his Souldiers, but with more confidence in regard he was animated by a happy Augury. At break of day coming out of his Tent to go on board, he met a Countreyman driving an Aſs before him; moved by I know not what Curioſity or inſtinct he asked him his Name: *My Lord, ſays he, my name is* Eutyches, *and I call my Aſs* Nicon; the firſt of theſe Names in *Greek* ſignifies *Happy*, and the other *Conquerour*. This rencounter made *Cæſar* ſo glad, that he no longer doubted of the Victory, and publiſhed the adventure through the whole Army; and when afterwards he erected a Trophy for the Victory, with the Spurs and Beakheads of *Anthony*'s Gallies; the Statues of the Man and the Aſs were made in Braſs. When *Cæſar*'s Fleet was drawn up, he went to the right Wing and ſtaid to ſee how the Enemies would work to give the Onſet; their Gallies lay as if they were at an Anchor in the entrance of the Gulf, and lay ſo till Noon, when a freſh gale carried *Anthony*'s left Diviſion out of the Gulf. *Cæſar* made his right, where it was, fall a Stern, to draw them farther out to Sea,

that he might encompass them with his Vessels which were lighter and much better fitted; his design succeeded, and the battel began here but in a different manner than usual. For there was no shock, because *Anthony*'s Gallies were too heavy, and those of *Cæsar* avoided it; fearing splitting against those huge Vessels, fortified with thick Timber and iron Spikes, so that this fight resembled rather an assault. *Cæsar*'s Souldiers attacked the Enemies with Pikes, Javelins, Piles and Fire pots, and they defended themselves with Arrows and Darts thrown from their Engines planted on wooden Towers. *Agrippa*, whose experience out-went all the Commanders of his time, stood out with the point of his left Division to flank *Anthony*'s, which made *Publicola* advance to hinder it. *Arruntius* laying hold on this occasion, bore into the midst of the Enemies Fleet which he put into some disorder; but the valour of the Souldiers made the Victory yet doubtfull: as they were all of them chosen Troops, they defended themselves with invincible Courage, and made a great slaughter of the Enemies that attempted to approach them. When streight they saw *Cleopatra*'s sixty Gallies advance between the two Fleets with all their Sails abroad, this movement equally surprized both Navies. *Anthony*'s was already in some disorder; and when he expected some great action from these Gallies which were th

best

beſt of his Fleet; he was amazed to ſee them all of a ſudden tack about, and run towards *Peloponneſus* withall the Sail they could bear: thus the Hiſtorians relate it after *Plutarch*, without giving any other reaſon of this baſeneſs of the *Ægyptians*, than the timorouſneſs of their Queen; that which they add is yet more ſurprizing. *Anthony* had given too many proofs of his Courage, ever to be ſuſpected of Cowardize; and in this occaſion, not onely the Empire of the World, but his own Life was at ſtake; and there was nothing to make him deſpair of Succeſs, for quite contrary the reſolution of his Men, and their firmneſs in maintaining the Combate, ſeem to aſſure him of the Victory, if they had been but well led on. But when he ſaw *Cleopatra* fly, he forgot the care, both of his honour and ſafety, to make himſelf an Accomplice of her Cowardly flight; and as if he had nothing more to apprehend than her abſence, he thought of nothing then but to run after her. He threw himſelf into a Gally, with onely *Scellus* and *Alexander* the *Syrian*, abandoning his Souldiers, that ſo generouſly expoſed their lives for his intereſt, and followed the Courſe that *Cleopatra* ſtood. She ſoon knew him, and put a flag abroad at the Prow of her Gally; he came near, and when he was aboard, he retired to the Prow without ſo much as ſeeing the Queen, and was a good while alone leaning his head upon his hand.

The Gallantry and Fidelity of his Souldiers cannot be enough admired upon this occaſion, although the General had left them, and the report of his flight was ſpread all about the Fleet; they acted like people that would not believe it, and ſtill fought with the ſame eagerneſs, as if he had ſtill been at the head of them, and perhaps they might have got the Victory which they diſputed till five in the Evening, if the Wind that roſe had not ſeparated them, and given the Enemies the advantage to beat them by piece-meal, for want of a Commander to rally them. Three hundred Veſſels yielded to the Conquerour, but there were but five thouſand Men killed on the beaten ſide; *Cæſar* having done all he could to ſpare the Lives of thoſe brave Souldiers, whom he looked upon as his Subjects: He made *Anthony*'s flight be every where publiſhed, and thoſe that obſtinately defended themſelves, he asked who they fought for now. He drew off his Souldiers, whom he ſaw too eager after the ſlaughter, and gave here ſuch marks of his Clemency, as ſerved to efface the memory of the battel of *Philippi*, and the horrible Proſcriptions of the Triumvirate. He granted a general pardon before it was deſired, and ſatisfied himſelf with the Puniſhment of a very few, and thoſe his particular declared Enemies. *Cæſar* lay in his Gally upon the place, and the next day went aſhore. The Legions of *Anthony*

thony teſtified no leſs faith and affection to their General, than the Souldiers of his Fleet. Though ſeveral of them had ſeen his retreat, yet they could not tell how to believe that he, who ſo often had experience of the inconſtancy of fortune, and had ſtill ſurmounted all his misfortunes with greater Courage, ſhould be capable of leaving all, having ſufficient Forces to diſpute the Empire, there remaining nineteen Legions entire, and twelve thouſand Horſe; they ſtill hoped he would come and put himſelf at the head of them, and try a ſecond battel; and though at laſt they loſt that hope, and were quite ſurrounded both by Sea and Land, they kept themſelves yet ſeven days in their Camp; but the flight of *Canidius* and all their chief Officers, ſo broke their meaſures that they reſolved to accept of the conditions that *Cæſar* offered them. Thus the *Roman* Empire ſo long torn by the Ambition of three men, at laſt with much Joy ſubmitted to the Command of one alone, hoping to ſee an end of all the miſchiefs that were cauſed by the Diviſions of the *Triumviri*; all whoſe Authority by this Victory was united in the Perſon of *Cæſar*.

CHAP. XXIX.

Anthony's displeasure against Cleopatra. *He retires into* Libya, *and returns into* Ægypt.

Anthony was still taken up with those Melancholy reflexions, the present condition of his fortune inspired him with, when he perceived some light Gallies of *Cæsar's* that rowed up to him; in spight of all his despair, he could not bear that his Enemies should come and brave him without being able to defend himself. He therefore commanded the Pilot to tack about and face them; this dispersed them all except one, whereupon there appeared a man with a Javelin in his hand, that came up to him very fiercely, threatning him; *Who art thou, cryes* Anthony, *that hast the Insolence to dare persue me?* I am, answered he, Eurycles *the* Lacedemonian *brought hither by the good fortune of* Cæsar, *to revenge my Father whom you put to death.* This was *Lachares* whom *Anthony* had punished for his extortions and oppressions: however *Eurycles* durst not engage *Anthony's* Gally, but attacked *Cleopatra's* Admiral, and gave him so rude a shock, that he ran him all on one side, and easily took him and another Vessel laden with all that Princess's Equipage. After he retired with his Prize, which

which was very rich, *Anthony* fell again into his Melancholy, and continued ſo three days without ſeeing the Queen, hindred either through ſhame or anger. They arrived ſo at *Tenarus*, where *Cleopatra*'s women ſo beſtirred themſelves, that they brought them to ſee one another, and to eat together; in this place ſeveral of *Anthony*'s Veſſels came to him, and ſome of his Friends who informed him of the total defeat of his Fleet; but believing his Legions held out yet, he ſent to *Canidius* to retreat through *Macedonia*, and return into *Aſia*. Then he purpoſed to retire into *Africa*, and aſſembled his Friends, to exhort them to retire and take their meaſures for their ſafety. After which, he made a Veſſel draw near wherein was all his Money, and what elſe he had of value, which he gave them to divide among them. They all refuſed his Preſents, and weeping told him, *They would always follow his Fortune*. This teſtimony of their Fidelity moved him ſo much to Compaſſion, that he could not refrain Tears: Complaining of his fortune that put him out of Capacity of giving them tokens of his acknowledgement and gratitude, who had given him ſuch ſignal marks of their affection; he added that he ſhould very much injure them, if he ſhould ſuffer them any longer to be entangled in his Misfortunes. So he abſolutely Commanded them to retire themſelves, and wrote to *Theophilus* Governour

of *Corinth*, to grant them refuge till they had made their Peace with *Cæſar*. After he had given theſe orders he went into *Africa*; from whence he ſent *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*, and remained almoſt alone, wandring through the Deſarts of *Libya*, without any other company than *Ariſtocrates* and *Lucilius*; one a *Greek*, and the other a *Roman*, both excellent Rhetoricians. *Lucilius* was he that ſaved *Brutus*, from being taken at the battel of *Philippi*; and ever ſince following *Anthony*, even to his death continued his affection. But *Anthony* then heard that the Governour had revolted to *Cæſar*, which put him into ſuch a violent deſpair, that he attempted to kill himſelf. His Friends hindred him from that fatal reſolution by their Prayers and Remonſtrances, and perſuaded him to return to *Alexandria*, where he found *Cleopatra* about an enterprize, that ſhewed the greatneſs of her ſpirit. As that neck of Land which joyns *Aſia* and *Africa* is but three hundred furlongs over, this Queen drew her Gallies upon Carriages into the Red Sea; where ſhe deſigned to embark her ſelf withall her Treaſures, and the moſt affectionate of her Subjects; and go and plant her ſelf in ſome remote part of the World, far from the dangers of War, and the fear of ſlavery. But the *Arabians* near the City of *Petra*, that were Enemies to the *Ægyptians*, burned thoſe Veſſels that were firſt tranſported thus, which made *Cleopatra* abandon

abandon that design, and apply her self to fortifie the avenues of her Kingdom, which were of very difficult access. *Anthony*'s behaviour was very different, he shewed nothing but a shamefull weakness: He shunned all Company, and built a house near the *Pharos*, far out into the Sea; where he shut himself up without either Friends or Domesticks, to imitate *Timon*, as he said, since he had no less reason than that *Athenian* to hate mankind, that seeing himself betrayed by those whom he had most obliged, this perfidiousness gave him occasion to suspect and hate all others. In this retirement *Canidius* brought him the News of the loss of his Legions, and here he heard how *Herod* King of the *Jews*, and all the other Kings of *Asia* had quitted his party, to take *Cæsar*'s side. He could no longer force his natural Temper, and as debauching is a great relief to people of his humour against all their troubles; he quitted his Cell, to fall a-feasting upon the Solemnity of *Cæsarion*'s being received into the degree of young men, and *Antyllus*, his Son by *Fulvia*, his putting off a Gown all of one colour, and without any ornament; for the *Romans* distinguished the ages of their Children, by peculiar habits; the first was the *Prætexta* or painted Gown, like our flowered Stuffs, which they wore till fourteeen; the *Pura* or white Robe, which was worn till eighteen or twenty, and then they took the degree of

of young men, and every one wore Clothes according to his quality. All this was uſually performed with great Ceremonies, which ſerved *Anthony* as a pretence to ſet on foot again the Society or Club they had formerly; but inſtead of the name it had of the *Inimitable Life*, they called it, Συναποθανούμενοι, *Synapothanoumenoi*, that is, *of thoſe that dye together*. In the mean time *Cleopatra* made tryal of all ſorts of Poiſons upon Criminals, even to the biting of *Serpents*; they ſay, that after many Experiments, they found that the ſting of the *Aſp* gave the quickeſt and eaſieſt Death, and there is reaſon to believe, ſhe from that very time made choice of that kind of death, if her ill-fortune ſhould drive her to an extremity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæsar *goes into* Italy. *He pacifies the Souldiers, and besieges* Alexandria.

CÆsar was yet in *Italy*, whither he was recalled by *Agrippa*'s Letters, after he had passed one part of the Winter at *Athens* and the other at *Samos*. The occasion of his return into *Italy* was the Mutiny of his Souldiers whom he had sent to *Brundusium* after the Victory. After their usual Custome they asked their Rewards and their Discharge. In his passage he had like to have been a Cast-away twice; the first time upon the Coast of *Italy*, and the other near the *Ceraunian* Mountains, where he lost several of his Vessels. He stayed at *Brundusium* but twenty seven days, to appease the Souldiers and give orders, after which with his Navy he sailed into *Syria*, while his Army marched a-long the Coasts of *Africa* to attack *Ægypt* on the other side. All the Kings of *Asia*, Allies to the *Romans*, came to assure him of their obedience; but none appeared more forward than *Herod*, who went as far as *Rhodes* to lay his Crown at *Cæsar*'s Feet, and offered him his Person and his Troops. This Prince had very great obligations unto *Anthony*, from whom he held both his Kingdom and his Life, and for that reason he had maintained his Interests in the East with so much Zeal that it

was

was not doubted, but *Cæsar* would treat him as one of his greatest Enemies. *Herod* himself had so little hopes of the success of his voyage, that in persuance of his natural bent to Cruelty, he left order with two of his Confidents to put his Wife *Mariamne*, whom he passionately loved, to death, in case he miscarried, and *Cæsar* were not disposed to pardon him. This Secret was revealed to *Mariamne* by one of his Instruments, which she not being able to keep, but reproaching her Husband with it at his return to *Judæa*, was the cause of the death of this unfortunate Princess, who for her admirable beauty and her noble race, which was that of the *Maccabees*, deserved a gentler destiny. *Cæsar*, to give a famous instance of his Clemency, pardoned *Herod*, gave him his Crown, and received him into the number of his Friends. Yet he refused him the Pardon of *Alexander* the *Syrian*, who was one of *Cleopatra*'s most dangerous Flatterers, and for that reason very much esteemed by *Anthony*, whom he betrayed after a very base manner. *Anthony* had sent him to the Kings of *Asia*, to keep them in his Interests; and this perfidious Villain was the first that persuaded *Herod* to follow the Fortune of *Cæsar*; to whom this Treason seemed so odious that he put him to death notwithstanding all *Herod*'s Entreaties. *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, seeing themselves abandoned by all their Allies, resolved though too late to send *Euphroni-*

us,

us, their Childrens Tutor, to make ſome Propoſals to *Cæſar*. *Cleopatra* asked the Kingdom of *Ægypt* for her Children, and *Anthony* deſired he might live as a private man at *Athens*, if *Cæſar* was not willing he ſhould tarry in *Ægypt*. He abſolutely rejected *Anthony*'s Propoſitions; and ſent to *Cleopatra*, *That he would refuſe her nothing that was juſt and reaſonable, if ſhe would rid her ſelf of* Anthony *or drive him out of her Kingdom.* With this Anſwer *Euphronius* returned, and with him *Thyreus*, a freed-man of *Cæſar*'s, he was a man very cunning, and very fit to mannage an Intrigue; who coming with a meſſage from a young Emperour to an ambitious Princeſs poſſeſt with a great opinion of her own beauty, had no difficulty of acceſs to her. But theſe ſecret Conferences between him and *Cleopatra*, and the honours ſhe did him, threw *Anthony* into ſuch a furious Paſſion of Jealouſie, that he made poor *Thyreus* be taken and cruelly ſcourged, and in this pickle ſent him to *Cæſar* with Letters, *That he had chaſtiſed* Thyreus *for his Inſolence, and becauſe he inſulted over him at a time when his ill fortune had put him into an ill humour:* But added he, *If this proceeding of mine offend you, you have* Hipparchus, *one of my freed-men, in your hands, whip him, or hang him if you pleaſe, and ſo we ſhall be even.* But this was a pleaſant way of being revenged upon *Hipparchus*, the Son of *Theophilus*, Governour of *Corinth*, who was the very firſt of

of *Anthony*'s freed-men that went over to *Cæsar*. *Cleopatra* omitted nothing to clear *Anthony*'s mind of Jealousie and Suspicion; she redoubled her Fondness and Caresses; and whereas she used to celebrate her Birth-day with great Feastings and Solemnities, she neglected that; but on *Anthony*'s Birth-day she made such a noble entertainment, that all the Guests were even enriched with the Presents she made them for *Anthony*'s sake. In the mean time *Cæsar*, having got all his Forces together, surprized the City of *Pelusium*, which was delivered to him by *Seleucus*, and the report went, that this Governour had received such order from the Queen, who, to justifie her self, delivered his Wife and Children up into *Anthony*'s hands. *Cleopatra*, near the Temple of *Isis* had built a stately building which she designed for her Sepulchre: into this place was carried by her order all her Treasure; as Gold, Jewels, Pearls, Ivory, Ebony, Cinnamon, and other pretious Woods of those times. It was filled besides with Torches, Fagots, Tow and other combustible matter; so that *Cæsar*, who had notice of it, was afraid lest out of despair she should burn her self in it with all those vast Riches: as he always kept some kind of correspondence, he sent People to her to give her hopes, that she might expect all good usage from the esteem he had for her. But in this time he advanced with his Army and encamped in sight of *Alexandria*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Anthony *defeats* Cæsar's *Cavalry. He is forsaken by his men. His Despair. He wounds himself. Is carried to* Cleopatra. *His Death.*

THE Pretence of so formidable a Rival revived all those sparks of Generosity in *Anthony*'s breast that seemed to be quite extinct. *Cæsar*'s hatred was declared too well, to let him hope for any thing but dying like a true *Roman*, and this *Anthony* resolved upon. He rallyed all the Troops he had, and made a Sally upon *Cæsar*'s Horse which was advanced. This action shewed what *Anthony* might have hoped if he had fought by Land as he was advised. He beat this Cavalry, and forced it home to *Cæsar*'s Camp, which he put into disorder; nor did he ever shew more Courage and Conduct than now. After this Victory he entred *Alexandria* as in Triumph, and went all armed as he was to *Cleopatra*, to tell her the News of his Advantage. He presented one of his Cavaliers to her which had behaved himself very bravely in the Fight. The Queen rewarded his Valour with an Armour of Gold; but that very night, this ungratefull wretch went to *Cæsar*. *Anthony* was very much troubled with this Man, that shewed such a dan-

dangerous Example. He tried to provoke *Cæsar*'s Generosity, and proposed a Duel to him; but he very coldly answered, Anthony *had ways enough to dye without seeking that.* He resolved then to make the last Push both by Sea and Land, with a design to conquer or dye bravely. He ordered his People to treat him with more magnificence than usually they did. *Perhaps*, said he to them, *this may be the last Service ye may doe me, for it may happen that to morrow you may have another Master, and ye may see me no more. However*, added he, *I do not pretend to lead you where death is more certain than victory.* The following night was troubled by a Prodigy; there was heard a great noise of Voices, Instruments and Cryes, like those of *Bacchanals*, all this passed through the City of *Alexandria*, and went out of the Gate that looked towards the Enemies Camp. As *Anthony* had all his life time affected to imitate *Bacchus*, this prodigy was interpreted to his disadvantage; and it was said, that this God abandoned him. At break of day *Anthony* posted those few Troops that were left him upon the rising ground near the Town, from whence he sent orders to his Gallies to engage the Enemy. They advanced in order of Battel; but as soon as *Anthony*'s Souldiers came near they held down their Arms and saluted *Cæsar*'s, who returning the Salute, both Fleets joined and moved against the City. All his Cavalry seeing

ing this left him, and went over to *Cæsar*'s Camp. This unfortunate General, forsaken by his men, and seeing he could not be so happy to dye with glory, his Arms in his hands, he was forced to go back to *Alexandria* quite besides himself with rage and spight, crying out, *Cleopatra* had betrayed him, in favour of those whom he had not made War with, but upon her account. This being told the Queen, the fury and despair of *Anthony* terrified her so that she retired to her Monument or Sepulchre, and fastned up the doors, and let down the Portcullis, the Place being very strong; and then made a report be spread, that she was dead, which was told *Anthony*: this sad news recalled all that tenderness he had for this Princess; *Miserable man*, cryed he, *what doest thou stay for longer, when fortune has deprived thee of all that is worth living for?* At these words he entred into a Cabinet, where, laying aside his Armour, *Cleopatra*, cryed he, *my greatest grief is, not that I am separated from thee, for we shall soon meet; but that I, who have commanded so many gallant men, should be out-done by a woman in Courage.* In this moment he called *Eros*, the most faithfull of his freed-men, whom he had engaged by Oath to kill him when he was reduced to a necessity of dying. It was to perform his Promise that he called for him. *Eros* drew out his Sword, as if he intended to perform that fatal Duty, and turning a little a-side gave himself a wound,

which made him fall dead at his Maſter's Feet. *Dear* Eros, ſaid he, *I thank thee for ſhewing me what I ſhould doe.* He then gave himſelf a blow in the Belly with that Violence that he fell backward upon a Bed that was near; though the wound were mortal, yet the bloud was ſtopped by the ſituation his body was in as he fell, ſo that he came to himſelf, and begged of his friends who were come to him, that they would diſpatch him. But they all ran from him, leaving him in a condition to move the moſt inſenſible to pity; the anguiſh of his wound, and the rage to be ſo cruelly forſaken made him cry out and tumble about and ſtrive, when *Cleopatra* hearing of it ſent *Diomedes* to bring him to her. *Anthony* underſtanding *Cleopatra* yet lived, ceaſed lamenting, to beg his Officers, who were then returned, in the moſt moving manner in the world, to carry him to her: with much-a-doe they lifted him up to the door of the Tomb. *Cleopatra* durſt not or could not open it, for ſhe had no body with her beſides two of her Women, but ſhe threw out ſome Cords from a window. All the People of *Alexandria* were preſent at this ſad ſpectacle, and owned there could be nothing more lamentable than to ſee this great man, renowned for ſo many Victories, bathed in his Bloud and exſpiring, holding out his hands to *Cleopatra*, and weakly endeavouring to raiſe himſelf; and her holding her Head down, and her Body almoſt out of the Window, ſtriving with

with the help of her Women to pull him up. All the Spectatours ſhewed no leſs ſorrow by their ſeveral motions: they encouraged her, and ſeemed to aſſiſt her with their Cryes, for that was all the help they could give her. At laſt, after much pain, ſhe drew him up to the Window, where ſhe embraced him, and laid him on a Bed. *Anthony* had loved her too much; and the ſtate he was in was too moving, not to ſhew a real grief. She tore her Clothes and her Face, and beat her Breaſt, calling *Anthony* her Lord, her Husband, her Emperour; and though ſhe had her ſelf great occaſions of grief, yet that deplorable object before her eyes was more than all the reſt. *Anthony* conjured her to ſtop her tears and moderate her tranſports, and asked for ſome Wine; whether it were that he was thirſty or that he thought it would the ſooner end him. After he had drank, he exhorted *Cleopatra* to endeavour to ſave her life if ſhe could doe it with Honour, and to that end ſhe might put more confidence in *Proculus* than in any elſe about *Ceſar*; that ſhe ſhould not make too much reflexion upon the cruel turn of Fortune which he felt at the end of his days, but think what glory he had lived in, famous for ſo many Victories, Triumphs and Dignities; and after he had been the firſt man of the world, and the worthieſt of the *Romans*, he was overcome by a *Roman*. He expired in finiſhing this Diſcourſe in the moment that

Proculus arrived from *Cæſar*. *Dercetes* one of *Anthony*'s Guards had given notice of the Death of his Maſter, and had carried the Sword with which he ſlew himſelf, yet ſtained with his Bloud. This ſad Sight forced *Cæſar* to retire into his Tent. And now the ſtrict friendſhip he had had with *Anthony*, their Affinity, the Dangers they had paſt together came into his thoughts. All this joined with his Noble extraction, his Fame for ſo many Triumphs and Dignities, followed by ſuch a deplorable end drew Tears from him. He called his Friends in and laid before them how he had not contributed any thing to the overthrow of *Anthony* by any hatred or ambition. He ſhewed them the Copies of the Letters he had written to him, which contained nothing but reaſonable and juſt Propoſals, and *Anthony*'s Anſwers full of Paſſion and Diſdain. After this he ſent *Proculus* to employ all his Art and Addreſs to ſeize upon *Cleopatra*. *Cæſar* paſſionately deſired in his Triumph to expoſe to the ſight of the *Romans*, this Queen who had ſo long triumphed over one of their Emperours, and was alſo very deſirous to ſave her Treaſures. *Cleopatra* would not let *Proculus* enter; ſhe ſpoke to him through the Chinks of the Dore. She was heard to ask the Kingdom of *Ægypt* for her Children; and *Proculus* exhorted her to put an intire confidence in *Cæſar*'s Clemency, and the affection he had for her. And all this while he conſidered well all the Avenues

venues of this monument: when he had taken good notice of them he returned to *Caſar*, who the ſame inſtant ſent *Gallus* to make her other Propoſitions; while *Proculus* with two others entred by the Window they drew *Anthony* in at: the Queen was earneſt in diſcourſe with *Gallus*, when one of her Women perceiving *Proculus* make haſtily up to her, cryed out, *Poor Princeſs, you are taken.* At this Cry *Cleopatra* turned her Head, and drew out a dagger ſhe had at her Girdle, to ſtrike it into her Heart: but the *Roman* caught hold of her Arm. *Madam*, ſaid he, *will you with the ſame Crime injure both your ſelf and* Cæſar, *in depriving him of the moſt illuſtrious teſtimony he can give of his generoſity; and make the beſt and gentleſt of Princes paſs for Cruel?* He then took the dagger from her and ſearched all her Clothes with Care leſt ſhe ſhould have any Poiſon concealed about her.

CHAP. XXXII.

Cæsar enters into Alexandria. *He visits* Cleopatra. *Her Death. The Posterity of* Anthony.

THIS News gave *Cæsar* an extreme satisfaction. He saw himself Master of the World by the Death of his Enemy; and had in his hands that haughty Queen, who had lifted the Crown of *Ægypt* above the Empire of the *Romans*. He commanded *Epaphroditus* to guard her with exactest care, and yet serve her like a Queen. He then made his Entrance into *Alexandria*. And as in all his actions he still had something of the Politician, he chose *Arius* the Philosopher to be near him, who was of this City; and during that Solemnity to give him more respect, *Cæsar* almost always talked to him, sometimes very familiarly, holding out his hand to him. He went thus to the Place of Exercises where all the People were assembled by his order. The Majesty of *Cæsar* followed by so many armed Souldiers, who breathed nothing but destruction threw the *Ægyptians* into a mighty fear. They all fell on their Knees and implored his Pardon; and when Silence was made, *Cæsar* told them he pardoned the People in consideration of their illustrious Founder *Alexander* the Great, for the Beauty of the Town

Town which he admired, and for the Friendſhip he bore to his Friend *Arius* their fellow Citizen: he would needs ſee the Tomb and Body of *Alexander* which he honoured with a Crown of Gold and covered it with Flowers according to the cuſtome of thoſe times. But when they asked him if he would ſee the Sepulchres of the *Ptolemies* too. He anſwered, *He deſired to ſee a great King, not dead Corpſes that were not.* *Ægypt* was reduced into a Province, and *Cæſar* cauſed his Souldiers to cleanſe the Chanels of the *Nile*, which very much contributed to the fertility of that Kingdom which abounded in Corn. Several Kings, Princes and *Roman* Senatours begged of him the Body of *Anthony* to pay their laſt reſpects to it, but he would not deprive *Cleopatra* of that ſatisfaction. She performed it with a great deal of magnificence, and *Cæſar* took care to furniſh her with what was needfull for the Pomp of the Funeral. She appeared here with exceſs of grief; though *Cæſar* ſtrove to moderate her affliction by the kind uſage of her Children whom he eſteemed as his Allies. Onely *Antyllus*, the eldeſt of *Anthony*'s Children by *Fulvia*, was partaker of his Father's misfortune, as being of an age capable of Reſentment, and having been always bred up with his Father, had imbibed his Sentiments; he was betrayed by *Theodorus*, his Tutor; who betrayed him, to rob him of a ſtone of great value. *Antyllus* threw himſelf at the Feet of an Image of

J. Cæſar, but this Sanctuary ſtood him in no more ſtead than his Prayers and Tears, for he was by the Souldiers taken from thence and ſlain. The traiterous Schoolmaſter did not long enjoy the fruits of his Treaſon; for he, not confeſſing his Theft, they ſearched him, and found the ſtone ſowed up in his Girdle, and *Cæſar* made him be faſtned to a Croſs, where the People of *Alexandria*, with Joy ſaw him expire. *Caſarion*, the ſon of *J. Cæſar* and *Cleopatra*, was alſo delivered up by *Rhodon*, to whom this Princeſs had truſted him. This Son whom ſhe tenderly loved and ſent him with a great Maſs of Treaſure to *Ethiopia*; it was for this that this perfidious Governour deceived *Cæſarion* by the ſhewing him feigned Letters by which *Cæſar* recalled him to put him upon the Throne of *Ægypt*. When he came to *Alexandria*, *Cæſar* was ſometime in ſuſpence between policy and humanity, till *Arius* made him reſolve by this ſaying, *It is not ſafe to have many* Cæſars; this was an alluſion to a Verſe in *Homer*, which was ill cited by this Philoſopher, ſince it was the cauſe of *Cæſarion*'s death. This death not being till after that of *Cleopatra*, and *Antyllus* ſlain before was none of her Son, ſhe had no cauſe for the encreaſe of her afflictions; but the greatneſs of her Courage made the loſs of her Liberty inſupportable to her. This Melancholy with the blows with which ſhe had bruiſed her Breaſt, put her into a ſlow Fever, which gave her hopes ſhe ſhould ſoon

end

end her ſorrows with her Life; ſhe had beſides reſolved to abſtain from eating, if *Olympius* her Phyſician who wrote this ſtory had not diſcovered this ſecret ſhe had truſted him with to *Cæſar*. They threatned to put her Children to death, if ſhe perſiſted in this obſtinacy, this was the onely thing ſhe could be ſenſible of; ſo ſhe ſuffered her ſelf to be dreſt, and took all they deſired her: then *Cæſar* reſolved to ſee her; by his Civilities to re-aſſure her mind. He found her upon a low bed very plain, and as ſoon as ſhe perceived him, ſhe roſe in her Smock to throw her ſelf at his feet; her hair was in diſorder, and torn in ſome places, her face bleeding and ſcratched, and her breaſt bruiſed, her eyes were red with weeping, and her voice weak and trembling. But yet all theſe accidents had not defaced that great beauty, nor the brightneſs of her eyes, nor the charming air of her face. *Cæſar* civilly lifted her up, and ſate down at her Beds-head. She began to enter into a juſtification of her Conduct; but there were too palpable Proofs againſt her, ſo ſhe turned her diſcourſe into humble Prayers, and put into his hand an Inventory of all her Treaſure and Jewels. *Seleucus*, *Cleopatra's* Treaſurer had followed *Cæſar*, and by a barbarous ingratitude maintained the Queen had concealed ſeveral things which were not in that account. *Cleopatra's* choler cannot better be expreſſed than by the effects of it, ſhe threw her ſelf

ſelf out of bed, and ran and took this perfidious Officer by the hair and beat him ſeverely; her anger might be real, but the Character of this woman may give a ſuſpicion, that it was but a pretence to ſhew *Caſar* her beautifull ſhape and body, which ſhe had too great a Confidence in. He did not appear moved by it, he onely laughed at this action, and led the Queen to her Bed. *Caſar*, ſaid ſhe to him, *after the honour you have done me, to viſit me notwithſtanding of the miſerable condition I am reduced to, is it not very cruel, that a vile Slave ſhould accuſe me of a Crime, becauſe I laid aſide ſome trifles; Not, alas, to adorn my ſelf, but to preſent to* Octavia *and* Livia, *to make uſe of their interceſſion to obtain your favour?* This diſcourſe very much pleaſed *Caſar*, who believed that they implyed a deſire ſhe had to preſerve her Life. He aſſured her, *She might keep her Jewels, and that he would keep her yet more generouſly than ſhe could hope for, and then retired very well ſatisfied with his Succeſs.* The fame of *Cleopatra*'s great beauty had inſpired all the young Gentlemen in *Caſar*'s Court with a deſire to ſee her. But above all the reſt, *Dolabella* one of the greateſt Quality, whether moved to it by love or pity ſhewed the greateſt concern for her, and certain it was, that it was he who informed her of *Caſar*'s intentions, to return to *Rome* through *Syria*, and that he had reſolved within three days, to ſend her and her

her Children away. Upon this news, *Cleopatra* deſired *Ceſar*, that he would permit her to pay certain Funeral Rites to the memory of *Anthony*, which he granted her; ſhe then cauſed her ſelf to be carried to the ſtately Sepulchre before mentioned, where he was laid, and there without any other attendance but her two women, ſhe was a good ſpace without doing any thing beſides embracing the Tomb, and pouring forth abundance of tears; at length the exceſs of her grief thus broke forth, *My deareſt* Anthony, *ſaid ſhe, I was a Queen and free, nor did theſe armes of mine wear chains when they received thee in this Monument; but now I offer thee theſe Sacrifices in a baſe ſtate of ſervitude, nor dare I even print the marks of my grief upon this captive Body, that, it ſeems, is reſerved to be an ornament of the Triumph of thy Enemy; expect therefore no more oblations of ſorrow from thy* Cleopatra, *ſhe is ready to be forced from thee, and this is the laſt token of her love and duty ſhe is able to give thee: No chance was able to ſeparate us while we lived, but I am afraid our cruel deſtiny will part us in our deaths; and as by a ſtrange turn of fate* Ægypt *hath afforded thee a Tomb, ſo* Rome *will me, which will be the onely courteſie I ſhall receive from thy Countrey: Yet I hope the Deities of thoſe happy abodes, where thou now art (for thoſe who govern here below, have delivered us up to our Enemies) will not abandon thy yet living Wife to their inſolence,*

lenee, nor ſhall a proud Conquerour have the pleaſure of Triumphing over thee in her Perſon; hide me therefore here, and receive me into thy Tomb, for the greateſt Woe I have ever yet endured, has been the little time that I have lived without thee. After ſhe had ended theſe ſad Lamentations, ſhe crowned the Tomb and covered it with Garlands and Flowers, every moment embracing it, as if ſhe deſigned to grow to it, till her women took her from thence to carry her into a Bath; when ſhe had bathed, ſhe attired her ſelf very richly, which ſhe had not done ſince her Misfortune, and was ſerved at Table by *Caſar*'s order, with as much Magnificence as if ſhe had ſtill been ſeated on her Throne. While ſhe was eating, a Countreyman came and deſired to ſpeak to the Queen; the Guards ſtop'd him, and would know what he carried in a basket that he had in his hand. The *Ægyptian* turned up ſome leaves and ſhewed them very large and lovely Figs, and offered ſome of them to the Souldiers in ſo innocent a manner, that they let him goe in. As ſoon as *Cleopatra* had dined, ſhe commanded all to void the Room except *Iras* and *Charmion* who had always attended her. Theſe two women ſhut the Gates after the Queen had ſent her Tablets carefully ſealed up to *Caſar*, who as ſoon as he opened them imagined what had hapned: She there complained of her ſad fate, and begged him to lay her body by *Anthony*. He immediately ſent people in

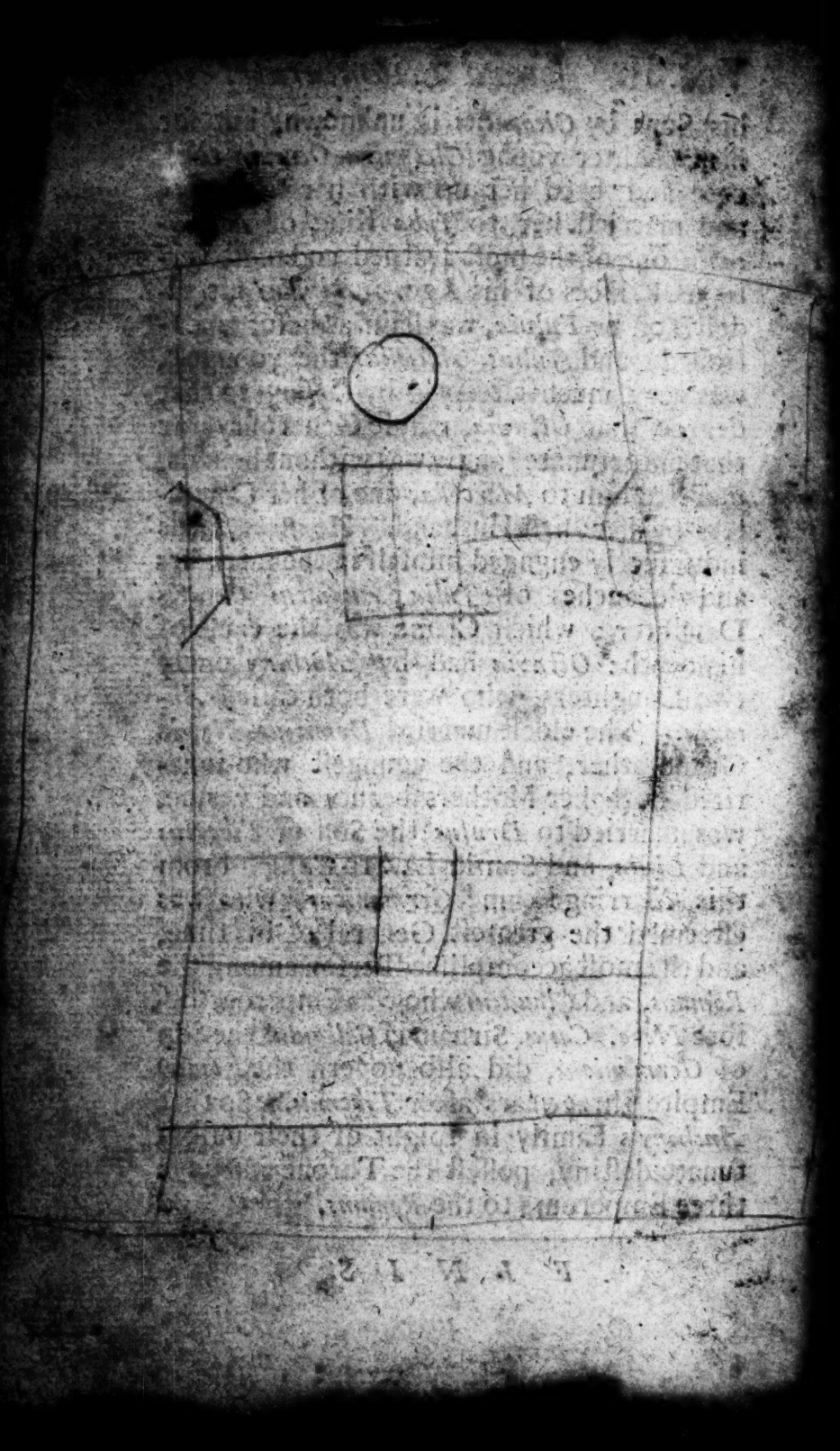
in all haſte to prevent the miſchief he feared; they found the Guards very quiet, and ran haſtily into the Queens Chamber, and found her laid upon a Golden bed, adorned with her Royal Robes in the poſture of one a-ſleep. *Iras* was laid dead at her feet, and *Charmion* who was yet breathing, was placing her Diadem right; one of *Caſar*'s Meſſengers very angrily ſaid to her, *Is this well done* Charmion? *Very well anſwered ſhe, and as becomes a Princeſs deſcended from ſo many Kings*; ſhe ſaid no more, but expired at her Miſtreſs feet. It is yet uncertain which way *Cleopatra* killed her ſelf ſo ſuddenly and ſo eaſily, it was believed, it was by the poiſon of an Aſp that bit her, and *Cæſar* ſeemed to confirm this opinion by her image he carried in Triumph with an Aſp faſtned to her Arme. They ſay that this Serpent was brought her hidden under the Figs, as ſhe had contrived, that it might ſting her as ſhe put her hand into the Basket, and that perceiving it, ſhe ſaid, holding out her Arme, *Thou art there then*; others ſay ſhe kept one on purpoſe, and enraged it by pricking it with a golden Needle, but all this is but conjectured, as that ſhe carried poiſon in a hollow Bodkin ſhe hid in her hair. For there appeared on her body no ſpots or marks of Poiſon, but onely two ſmall pricks on her Arme ſcarce to be perceived, and no Aſp was to be found in the Sepulchre; but they imagined they found ſome kind of track in the Sand on

that

that ſide next the Sea. *Cæſar* was extremely troubled at her death, as being by it deprived of the nobleſt ornament of his Triumph: however, he could not but admire the greatneſs of her Courage, who notwithſtanding the weakneſs of her ſex, preferred death before the loſs of Liberty. He ordered her a very magnificent funeral, and her body as ſhe had deſired was laid by that of *Anthony*; and her two women were interred with Pomp in memory of their Fidelity. Thus this Princeſs, whoſe Wit and Beauty had made ſo great a noiſe in the World, died in the flower of her Age, at thirty eight years old. She reigned in *Ægypt* twenty two years, fourteen whereof ſhe paſt with *Anthony*, and all that while had a total aſcendent over the Soul of that Emperour. *Cæſar* preſerved her Statues entire, but beat down all thoſe of *Anthony*; but the conſideration for *Cleopatra*'s memory did not contribute ſo much to the preſervation of her Images, as the thouſand Talents which *Archibius* one of her Friends gave *Cæſar* for that end. Thoſe therefore erected to *Anthony*'s memory were entirely demoliſhed both in *Ægypt* and *Rome*, where the Senate pronounced his memory infamous, and decreed that none of his Family ſhould bear the name of *Marcus*. He died at the Age of fifty three, or as ſome ſay fifty ſix years, and by his three Wives left ſeven Children. The fortune of *Alexander* and *Ptolemy* his

his Sons by *Cleopatra* is unknown, but for his Daughter young *Cleopatra*, *Octavia* took care and bred her up with her Children, and married her to *Juba* King of *Mauritania* one of the moſt learned and moſt vertuous Princes of his Age. *Antyllus* his eldeſt Son by *Fulvia*, was ſlain as before mentioned, and *Julius Antonius* the youngeſt, was very much eſteemed by *Cæſar*, to that degree that *Octavia*, whoſe Generoſity for that unfortunate Family was without bounds, married him to *Marcella*, one of her Daughters by her firſt Husband. He afterwards indiſcreetly engaged himſelf in the intrigues and debauches of *Julia*, *Auguſtus Cæſar*'s Daughter; which Crime was the cauſe of his death: *Octavia* had by *Anthony* onely two Daughters, who were both called *Antonia*. The eldeſt married *Domitius*, *Nero*'s Grandfather, and the youngeſt who inherited both her Mothers beauty and vertue, was married to *Druſus* the Son of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and Son-in-Law to *Cæſar*. From this Marriage came *Germanicus*, who was eſteemed the greateſt General of his time, and the moſt accompliſhed Perſon among the *Romans*, and *Claudius* who was Emperour before *Nero*. *Caius*, Sirnamed *Caligula*, the Son of *Germanicus*, did alſo govern the *Roman* Empire three years after *Tiberius*. So that *Anthony*'s Family in ſpight of their unfortunate deſtiny, poſſeſt the Throne and gave three Emperours to the *Romans*.

F I N I S.



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Brod, Samuel de.
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